A PLACE AT THE TABLE: A FEMINIST ANALYSIS OF A UNIVERSITY'S CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN PARTNERSHIP WITH A "LOCAL FOOD" NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION

A Dissertation
by
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Abstract

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IN PARTNERSHIP WITH A "LOCAL FOOD" NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION

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In this feminist ethnography, I returned to the small rural public Hispanic-serving university (Southwest State University, pseudonym) in the southwestern U.S. where I formerly worked in order to critique how practices of inclusion and exclusion of stakeholders during the curriculum development process reproduce inherited privilege. I examined texts such as reports, emails, meeting notes, and student surveys, and I interviewed university personnel and community members active with the Local Foods Coalition who had been invited to advise on the new Food Studies major. These data revealed paternalistic neoliberal efficiency mindsets which perpetuated exclusion of minoritized peoples' perspectives. I used feminist theory to describe and critique the power structures and their functions. This theoretical grounding enabled me to dive more deeply into neoliberalism as a framework for analysis of curriculum development in higher education.

I focused on three elements of feminist theory (challenging authority, analyzing power structures and their reproduction, and naming paternalism) in order to develop a critique of neoliberalism in higher education curriculum development. I chose several elements of neoliberalism to name phenomena present in this curriculum development process, including deregulation of environmental and labor protections which benefit corporations, externalization of costs, efficiency mindsets, designing for standardization, privatization of what used to be public services, framing people as consumers, and commodification.

Keyword search terms include: adjunctification, automation, brand, commodification, commodity agriculture, community partners, consent, conventional agriculture, consumers, corporatization, crisis, curriculum development, declining enrollment, democratic process, dignity, direct market agriculture, diversity, economic development, efficiency, ethnography, exclusion, exploitation, extraction, extractive, faculty, farm worker, feminist epistemology, feminist theory, food studies, gentrification, globalization, higher education, Hispanic Serving Institution, inclusion, inheritance, local as a brand, local food economy, minoritized, Minority Serving Institution, neoliberalism, passion, paternalism, planning process, politics of difference, power structures, precarity, producers, reconciliation, regeneration, regenerative, relocalization, representation, reproduction, rural, shared governance, sustainability, thinking with theory, value-added, Whiteness.

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developing Food Studies as a discipline. I am eager to see how the AppalFRESH (Appalachian Food Research for Equity, Sustainability and Health) Collaborative continues to grow.

I think it is remarkable that I had an all-female dissertation committee. The chair of the doctoral program is a woman. The dean of the Reich College of Education is a woman. The chancellor of Appalachian State University is a woman. The president of the University of North Carolina system is a woman. The secretary of education is a woman. The future is female. The present is female.

I think back to my earliest educational memories, and I was a problem student. When I was in fourth grade, my parents came to parent teacher conferences to find that my desk was situated at the front of the room, right up against the teacher's, which was her way I suppose of keeping me on task. One teacher used masking tape to connect my chair to my desk to keep me from wandering to the window or the bookcase or wherever else I seemed to not be able to control myself from wandering to. I was in special education gym class. I was in the gifted and talented program until I got kicked out for talking too much. A teacher friend, Molly Hughes, pointed out that I am therefore thrice exceptional: physically, intellectually and behaviorally. I am so grateful to my teachers for not giving up on me, for encouraging me. I also had a male professor who said I would never be an A student, but that there were "other ways" that I could get an A. I am glad I took the B and did not give up on myself.

Thank you to the people who have helped me understand more about how difference and power function, notably mentoring me through my non-classroom learning of the experiences of non-White people. Joe Green spent countless hours talking through African-American experiences of education with me, substantially impacting my understanding of not only policy but my blindnesses to how my Whiteness functions. There are so many ways that the formal curriculum has intentionally *miseducated* us, and generous friends like Joe, Meagan Smith, Johari Cole, and Carolyn Smith love me enough to point out when I am "thinking like a White person."

Thank you to the people who opened their homes to me which made my doctoral education possible. Dr Vachel Miller, Sarah Miller and their children Galen, Sidra and Caspian let me live in their home in Boone, NC, for my first two semesters, and I felt like a member of their family. Dr Katrina Plato and her son Abraham shared their home with me for the next two semesters, and it was a wonderful contemplative space for me to grow as a scholar. Dr Mona Abinader let me sleep on a cot on her kitchen floor for three weeks in August 2017 while I prepared my prospectus for defense, and she always made sure I had good food to eat while she carefully read my drafts. Cynthia Choice let me take over her guest room for seven weeks as I conducted fieldwork, and we shared whatever good food people sent with me from my interviews, including two 25 lb bags of potatoes harvested that day.

My interviewees were so generous with their time, and food, and several cooked dinner for me to show me what local food meant to them. Again, I came home almost every night with armloads of food. That bag of potatoes sustained me through six months of dissertating. Growing up with limited finances, I learned to appreciate good food and the people willing to share it with me. Thank you to the diaspora of people from the region who continue to do wonderful work, The Work, of (re)building our food system.

Thank you to Blue Ridge Women in Agriculture, the local food advocates who welcomed me to the work being done here in Watauga County: Dave Walker, Courtney Baines, Carol Coulter, Sadikshya Aryal, Debbie Bauer, Lynae Ball, Jacqui Ignatova and many others. John Eshelman at NC State University shared his reporting on the Appalachian Foodshed Project with me, and Susan Clark of Virginia Tech talked me through the development of their minor in Civic Agriculture and Food Systems. I am also grateful to the county level food policy councils and regional advocacy work coordinated by Abby Piner at NC State University's Center for Environmental Farming Systems and Community Food Strategies.

Thank you to the beekeepers who kept me connected to beekeeping in these years that I have been in school. Elizabeth Randall, Marty Hanks, Galen Ballentine, Bill Brinton, Meghan Ibach, Liz Howard, Tony Williamson, Josie Varela and Aaron Miltenberger helped me remember why I got curious about all this agricultural stuff in the first place, to figure out

why my bees were dying and what I might do to help. Aaron took good care of my little sisters when I had to leave them to move to NC.

Thank you to the musicians who played with me every week to decompress. In Boone, NC, I played with a drop-in bluegrass jam on Wednesday nights after long days of doctoral classes. It was balm for the soul and helped me keep a sense of proportion. Some musicians traveled great distances to play with me in NC and VA: My mother Sharon Devlin, and dear friends Cynthia Choice, Jen Ballentine and Liz Howard. In the Midwest I have been playing with Jeff Eckel and Anna Banwell as well as Tom Standish and my dad Ken Lemke. I am also teaching music lessons again, so I get to play with young players which is always a delight for me. In my research site I got to play with my all-girl 80s cover band with Cynthia and Jen. Time to plan our tour as either the *Rolling Crones* or the *She-Gees*—we are still working on our branding.

Thank you to my family, who suffered these prolonged absences and celebrate with me as I come to the end of this journey and the beginnings of new journeys. My sister Jenny, a licensed massage therapist, gave me 90 minute massages monthly throughout my dissertating. My sister Laura, who has written four books and edits a literary magazine, gave me pointers on writing process, including listening to video game music on Pandora to keep me focused (Motoi Sakuraba Radio playing as I type). My brother Ross keeps me laughing, especially at myself, and is the glue which holds us Lemke siblings together. As a first generation doctoral student, I acknowledge the rifts in my extended family about the use of a

college education, especially for women. Thank you to my two ex-husbands who forbade me from pursuing my doctorate. Sometimes a prohibition has the opposite effect. I acknowledge that when I told my undergraduate advisor I was pursuing my doctorate (at age 47), he attempted to make a joke about how most people go to graduate school much earlier in their career. I smiled wistfully because I did not then have the courage to point out that male graduate students of his generation often had spouses who not only supported their academic pursuits but *typed* their manuscripts for them.

I acknowledge the survivor guilt I feel about the many people who are just as smart as I am—smarter—who have not achieved this academic credential because of the cost, bureaucracy and systemic institutional barriers. One of my doctoral cohortmates dropped out in our last semester of classes; there are way too many offramps from higher education and too few ways to pick it up again after an event derails one's life. My sister went to college to study pre-med and "dropped out" when she became pregnant. She has been my biggest cheerleader to become the first "doctor" in our family.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to people who want to pursue their educational dreams. May they find hospitable environments without unnecessary barriers.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In 2012, I was working as the director of special programs at a small rural university in the southwest United States. I was also volunteering with a group of local food activists, which included an agronomist whose summer intern, Reyes (pseudonym), would be heading to the university to begin his studies. My agronomist friend asked me to keep an eye out for Reyes, who sought me out the first week of classes to be his mentor. He and I met weekly to discuss his progress in his studies. One frustration he expressed was that the courses he was taking, such as developmental math, were not getting him where he wanted to go. He wanted to do something important with his life, "like grow food," and he was frustrated that he was basically stuck. His family did not own land. The girls from his high school whose families owned land were not interested in dating him, much less marrying him, which was the only way he saw that he could acquire land and the precious inherited water rights necessary to grow food in the high desert where we lived. Reyes enjoyed his agronomy internship and had a keen mind for the complexities of food production. He also appreciated how the diversity of microorganisms living symbiotically in healthy soil was related to the diversity of humans living together in healthy communities. He wanted to be a scientist but had tested into Level One of the developmental math courses, meaning it would be a minimum of four semesters before he would be allowed access to the science courses he desired. He diligently

worked through several semesters while raising important questions about why the system was set up as it was, and how his courses were relevant to his goals. These conversations exposed problems I had not originally seen and caused me to think differently about my work in the university. For example, I had not considered how the developmental math sequence was a gatekeeper holding some students back from the courses which they were most passionate about taking. Through our conversations I also realized how difficult it was to navigate into a science major if one tested into the developmental-level courses. I learned that some science courses were only offered every other fall semester, so to start off with a developmental course might mean that a student would have to wait 2 years to take a required course tightly sequenced with other course requirements.

After 1 year of meeting together weekly, he and I started developing a Food Studies curriculum that not only he and other students wanted to study, but also that several colleagues and I wanted to teach. This grew into "Empowering People Through Food," a multi-disciplinary survey course with guest speakers on topics driven by student curiosity. The topics started with interest in getting to the "truth" about things: Are GMOs bad? Is organic really better? How can we cook food for ourselves? It became evident that some of the students were literally *hungry*; some had not eaten all day and were looking forward to the 5:00 pm class time and the meal we would prepare and eat together. The topics ranged from what we can eat right now to what we ought to eat. My thinking on the topics also evolved to consider not just the food itself but the context around the food, leading to course-guiding questions such as: Is it possible to feed ourselves without exploiting others (both

human labor and environmental degradation)? If not, what is the least damaging way to feed ourselves? How can we get more people involved with producing and consuming local food?

Fast forward a few years, and I began searching for a dissertation topic. In February 2017 that same university, SSU, reached out to the activists who had formed a 501(c)3 non-profit organization "Local Foods Coalition" about developing a new Food Studies major, and the executive director contacted me for suggestions. In the initial email from the president of the university, the president described a program goal of "deliver[ing] the Agriculture program here so that students can stay and continue to work on the farms," (L. Marron personal communication, February 8, 2017), implying that this program was designed for students who already work on their family farm. That sentiment appeared to contrast with the SSU Vision Statement which was "to become the university community of choice for diverse and historically underserved groups" such as migrant workers who may also work on those same farms, or students such as Reyes. It appeared as if the program might be trying to solve one kind of problem (elders worrying that their children will move away and not take over the farm) versus a problem that the local food movement was concerned with: creating pathways for people who have not inherited farmland to be able to learn the skills to grow food and earn a living wage (Center for Whole Communities, 2009). This could mean that the Food Studies program functioned to amplify inherited privilege rather than to disrupt it. Inherited privilege is amplified when an education program reproduces the power structures it has inherited rather than creating pathways for non-inheriting students.

The amplification of inherited privilege is a problem higher education ought to consider, and leads to my problem statement for this project: *Institutions of Higher Education have a history of reproducing the power structures they have inherited, perpetuating raced, classed, and gendered inequities.* New curricular initiatives do not take place in a vacuum; the immediate contexts, the rationale for the new curriculum, the people involved with and excluded from the process, and the other possible curriculum proposals which are sidelined are all important considerations to analyze how traditional power structures may be functioning to maintain their hegemonic dominance. These traditional power structures include White supremacy, male supremacy, and the privileging of wealthy persons' needs over those not inheriting wealth. The curriculum development of a proposed Food Studies major serves as an exemplar of this process; thus, the purpose of my study is to investigate what happened by using feminist theory to critique how practices of inclusion and exclusion of stakeholders during the curriculum development process reproduce inherited privilege.

Historical Context

In order to understand inclusion and exclusion of stakeholders in the curriculum development process, an analysis of the historical context of higher education institutions is necessary so that we can see how institutions evolved. In the colonial and early United States almost all higher education institutions were designed for White land-owning men. (Cohen & Kisker, 2009). Until the Higher Education Act of 1965 required institutions

receiving federal funds to admit students who are non-White or female, virtually all U.S. higher education institutions enrolled only White men (Cross, 1971). In 2014, the U.S. K-12 educational system experienced the tipping point from serving student populations who were mostly White to serving mostly non-White students. Today more than half of children in K-12 schooling are non-White (Gasman, 2016), and some of these more diverse students will be headed to higher education classrooms in the near future. Although many institutions of higher education extended admission to non-White people and women after 1965, these institutions did not necessarily restructure themselves to consider the needs and perspectives of these more diverse populations (Arnett, 2015).

Further, U.S. higher education has a history of colonization ideology. One of its explicit roles within society was to create the leader class (Cohen & Kisker, 2009), mostly from male offspring of White land-owners. The inherited privileges of educational access coupled with inherited privileges of land ownership set up disruptive possibilities for institutions like the university described above when developing initiatives like the Food Studies major.

When an institution sets aspirations for itself like this university's Vision Statement "to become the university community of choice for diverse and historically underserved groups," presumably these diverse underserved students are interested in becoming *appropriately* served in order to achieve the dreams other populations have achieved. This ideology fits with existing narratives of higher education's role for social mobility. For

example, if students from low-resource backgrounds work hard at their studies, then they will be able to rise above their stations into higher social classes. This narrative of meritocracy and hard work produces student subjects willing to work hard who may discover that unchangeable traits about themselves such as coming from non-land-owning families may be a barrier that their education credential cannot remove. The new Food Studies program may set itself up for problems if it does not account for these sorts of unchangeable traits of its underserved students, continuing to *underserve* them.

These narratives are further challenged by higher education's ambivalence regarding diversity. Many institutions of higher education have mission statements, visions, goals, and strategic plans which have language celebrating the importance of diversity of thought and backgrounds of their community members. However, in practice many of the socializing forces within institutions encourage conformity instead, often leading to faculty hires who "fit in" with existing departmental cultures, and resulting in students and faculty who are *different* being marginalized as unwelcome Others (Smith, 2017). This disconnect between the goals of institutions acting as meritocracies and their actual outcomes begs the question of whether they just happen to employ mostly White privileged-class men, or whether there are systemic barriers which make it difficult for people who are non-White or female (or have other minoritized, marginalized subjectivities) to succeed. The disconnect between the stories institutions tell themselves about their community role and what actually happens is the setting for my dissertation project.

Specifically, in order to explore the contradictions between stated goals and outcomes, I examined how Southwest State University (SSU, a pseudonym), a regional comprehensive public university in the rural southwest, which is a federally-designated Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI), went about the process of developing a new Food Studies major with an emphasis on Local Food. Like virtually all HSIs, SSU is also a Predominantly White Institution (PWI), meaning that although it serves a high percentage of Hispanic students, almost all of the faculty are White. The surrounding community is 51% Hispanic. I returned to this community in September and October of 2017 to witness this process as the university embarked upon this initiative.

My experiences with developing, managing, and assessing university programming led me to consider the effectiveness of designing programs for diverse populations, when those who are designing the programming are not from the communities being served. I viewed this partnership between SSU and the non-profit as an opportunity for me to analyze some of these power structures in real-time, as they unfurled. SSU was in the process of approving the curriculum, and I was able to witness committee members proposing the new curriculum to the faculty senate. This new program was related to other university initiatives, such as updating the General Education Curriculum requirements of all students and initiatives to grow enrollment. It was also related to regional goals to create economic activity through entrepreneurship in this agricultural region of relatively high poverty. Many PWIs will be facing similar challenges of how to develop programming to serve their growing diverse populations. As U.S. demographics change, it becomes more important for

higher education institutions to design programs that more effectively serve diverse populations.

Purpose Statement and Research Questions

In this feminist ethnography, I returned to the small rural public Hispanic-serving university (Southwest State University, pseudonym) in the southwestern U.S. where I formerly worked in order to critique how practices of inclusion and exclusion of stakeholders during the curriculum development process reproduce inherited privilege. I examined texts such as reports, emails, meeting notes, and student surveys, and I interviewed university personnel and community members active with the Local Foods Coalition who had been invited to advise on the new Food Studies major. These data revealed paternalistic neoliberal efficiency mindsets which perpetuated exclusion of minoritized[1] peoples' perspectives. I used feminist theory in order to describe and critique the power structures and their functions. The feminist theoretical framework invites me to pay attention to the structures of binary oppositions (such as employer/employee or teacher/student) present in the partnership; thus, I analyze those binary oppositions related to the explicit statements in these texts to

[1] I use the term *minoritized* to acknowledge agency because it is a *doing* which creates a minoritized subjectivity, not a static trait of *being*. The agent(s) creating the minoritizing often escape responsibility when language focuses on the victim of the minoritizing, rather than on the perpetrator. Shields, Bishop, and Mazawi (2005) explain the term 'minoritized' refers to those who, while not necessarily in the numerical minority, are ascribed characteristics of a minority and treated as if their position and perspective is of less worth. I aim to name perpetrating structures.

expose how power structures function in a hierarchical way, with one dominant system keeping the other in its subordinate place. "By tracing the structural properties of the system, [the researcher] is able to show its functional nature," write Miller, Whalley and Stronach (2011), who elaborate that this type of educational theorizing has a purpose of "unmasking … the ways in which power operated (*structures*) in educational systems to the ultimate benefit (*functions*) of economic elites" (p. 305). Given the historical tendencies for higher education institution to reproduce structures which perpetuate inequities, feminism -- which is a theory that critiques power structures -- offers an epistemology through which I may analyze how power functions in the development of this Food Studies curriculum. My research questions ask:

RQ1: How do socio-cultural practices of inclusion and exclusion, among those developing the Food Studies program, function to support traditional power structures?

RQ2: How does the exclusion of faculty from the Food Studies curriculum development process reveal paternalistic, neoliberal efficiency mindsets?

RQ3: How did the Food Studies curriculum development process commodify the needs, desires, and goals of key stakeholders, especially those who have been historically minoritized (non-White, non-wealthy, non-male), in order to sustain dominant power structures?

These three questions work together to guide my thinking on the important topic of exclusion, which is a key concept in neoliberalization of higher education and other

systems. A second neoliberal concept in these questions is that of efficiency mindset, which restricts the inclusion of diverse perspectives. Socio-cultural practices of exclusion, especially of faculty from the essential faculty role of curriculum development, work with the third key concept from neoliberalization in this study which is commodification. The three questions enable me to critique how dominant legacy power structures of race, class, and gender are (re)produced. Inheritance is another concept in these research questions, in that institutions like the university inherit legacy structures which reproduce privilege, just as people inherit legacies that reproduce privilege. In chapter 2, I describe neoliberalism in more detail.

The methodological framework for this dissertation is a feminist analysis, meaning that feminist critical epistemologies inform my "thinking with theory" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). I chose ethnographic methods of data collection and storytelling to create new ways of thinking about the curriculum development process and its function in reproducing inequities. A more detailed description of this methodological approach follows in chapter 3.

Significance of this Study

Inclusion of diverse perspectives creates institutions of higher education which are responsive to the changing needs of their communities. My dissertation project focuses on inclusion and exclusion because neoliberal forces work against diversity, and this significance can only become more relevant as changing U.S. demographics continue to decenter the primacy of White, wealthy and male perspectives. In historically White

countries around the world, some are reacting to this decentering with implicit and explicit calls for genocide for non-Whites (Dzodan, 2017). The wealthiest individuals on the planet created much of their wealth, and continue to grow it, within this framework of neoliberalism, meaning that they too want to continue the status quo and benefit from a hegemony that centers their perspectives. Mbembe (2001) developed a theory that lasers in on how neoliberalism in this crisis functions to not only limit access to resources but by denying access creates a necropolitic: "Necropolitics [is] a global expression of sovereignty in which the world is divided into those who are disposable and those who are not, those whose lives can be wasted and those who cannot" (Mbembe as quoted in Dzodan, 2017). Dzodan supplements Mbembe's thinking with analysis of neoliberalism's influence on necropolitics which she calls a "eugenics adjacent project," noting that "it's not just that some lives are considered acceptable collateral damage, but that some lives are explicitly considered an unnecessary burden" (para. 4). In a neoliberal context, to deny someone access can be a death sentence reframed as a choice. I posit that designing education systems using the exclusion mindset renders some students' lives "an unnecessary burden" as well.

Whether institutions are ready for it or not, narratives which have supported a eugenic/exclusionary mindset to the benefit of those who already have many benefits must be confronted about their racialized, classed, and gendered consequences, and alternative systems which promote much broader access must be developed. It is imperative to move beyond the rhetoric of additive "diversity initiatives" in an exclusion-focused institutional mindset and instead to restructure institutions for access for diverse populations. Thus, my

critique serves to describe how a curriculum development process enacts structures and practices which reproduce inequities.

A century ago, F.W. Taylor introduced his time and motion studies to improve efficiencies in manufacturing and management, and eventually neoliberal forces influenced higher education to also embrace scientific efficiency as a goal for improving educating students (Horvath, 2014; Taylor, 1911). If efficiencies are an important goal for education, then administrators begin to design education systems for maximum efficiency, relying on assembly-line like principles of standardization and uniformity. Regarding this study, designing for efficiency might mean excluding stakeholders whose perspectives and needs would slow down the process, meaning that a deliverable of a curriculum can be achieved, but it may only serve those students easiest to teach, from populations who are already privileged.

Neoliberalism tends to commodify everything into fungible standardized units, and higher education has not been immune to this globalized force (Apple, 2004; Davies & Bansel, 2007; Gahman, 2016; Gibson & Ross, 2007; Monbiot, 2016; Phipps, 2015). Structures of efficiency function to amplify the privileges of those for whom the systems were originally designed, again in the case of higher education and specifically agricultural higher education, White men who own land. When institutions of higher education do not acknowledge this structural legacy, they continue to amplify the benefits of inherited privilege. And they then wonder why student enrollment declines as fewer and fewer

students fit into the category around which they have been unquestioningly designing their programs. In the case of this study, the curriculum was designed but then shelved, partially because the person who designed the curriculum was commodified as a contract employee and was offered an adjunct role which she rejected. The result is that there is no one at the institution who is qualified to teach the new courses, so they have not been offered, meaning the curriculum development fails to bring new students into the institution struggling with falling enrollment.

Feminist theory offers a framework for analysis of structural legacy and inherited privilege. I use the concepts of feminist theory to *challenge authority*, to *analyze power structures and their reproduction*, and to *name paternalism* to analyze the data. Chapter 2 describes these elements of feminist theory in more detail, as well as a description of neoliberal concepts germane to the analysis.

This dissertation is in the field of higher education leadership, and as such my focus is more on the *process* of the curriculum development rather than the *content* of the Food Studies curriculum or the emerging field of Food Studies. My focus on process is based in my critique of how practices of inclusion and exclusion during curriculum development reproduce inherited privilege. However, I cannot tell the stories of the curriculum development without some description of the content, so readers will find some analysis of how the content of the Food Studies curriculum was decided on by committee members and by input from farm and food business owners in the community. I define all new terms in the

text of each chapter, but my analysis uses some agricultural terms which may not be familiar to education scholars. I prepared a brief glossary of agricultural terms labeled Appendix A to assist these readers.

In the next chapter, I describe the scholarly context of the study, followed by a chapter describing the methodological approach. The following three chapters are analysis chapters focusing on answering the three research questions, followed by a concluding chapter, appendices and references.

Chapter 2: Scholarly Context

In reading a dissertation about Food Studies, one might expect to read about the scholarly context of that discipline, the key perspectives of agronomists, permaculturists, and sustainable development theoreticians. Had I focused on a different facet, I might have written about Indigenous foodways or the transnational movements for farmworkers and "peasants," a colonial term describing people living on the margins of the ever growing influence of transnational corporations, people resisting environmental and economical paternalism which not only threatens traditional ways of being but appears to be bringing our planet to the brink of ecological collapse and widespread social unrest. I certainly care about these issues and plan to write much more about them, but my narrow focus for this project is to address the curriculum development process at one institution making sense of what Food Studies means to them, and how they planned to develop a curriculum for their needs. Therefore, the scholarly context of this project needs to be grounded in this narrower focus, and I need to prepare readers to understand my rationale.

In this chapter, I describe the rationale for the problem statement and the purpose statement of this study, as well as their relation to the research questions. I begin by describing feminist theory as the tool through which I approached this project and how I use it to think through the literature contextualizing the problem and purpose. I then explicate the problem and purpose statements and each of their elements, introducing the major themes in

the literature. I close the chapter with a description of neoliberalism as a framework for understanding higher education curriculum development.

Feminist Theory

Feminist theory has been a presence in much of my thinking as I emerged into being a critically thinking person. I argue that feminist theory gives me the structure to question assumptions about power dynamics based on difference. Because power dynamics based on difference are present in every aspect of education including the processes for developing curriculum, I use feminist theory to critique how practices of inclusion and exclusion impacted the process, and what sorts of mindsets were revealed by exclusions. In this section I explain how feminist theory is useful in higher education research in general and for this project in particular. My purpose is to critique how practices of inclusion and exclusion of stakeholders during the curriculum development process reproduce inherited privilege through research questions which ask:

RQ1: How do socio-cultural practices of inclusion and exclusion, among those developing the Food Studies program, function to support traditional power structures?

RQ2: How does the exclusion of faculty from the Food Studies curriculum development process reveal paternalistic, neoliberal efficiency mindsets?

RQ3: How did the Food Studies curriculum development process commodify the needs, desires, and goals of key stakeholders, especially those who have been historically minoritized (non-White, non-wealthy, non-male), in order to sustain dominant power structures?

What do I mean by feminist theory? Feminist theory is neither monolithic nor exhaustively defined (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002). Rather than provide a definition for feminist theory, I explain how I use elements of feminist theory in my thinking in this project on examining how Institutions of Higher Education have a history of reproducing the power structures they have inherited, perpetuating raced, classed, and gendered inequities. I do so by explaining three aspects of feminist theory which have been helpful for my thinking in this project: challenging authority, analyzing power structures and their reproduction, and naming paternalism.

Feminist theory as a challenge to authority. Hanrahan and Antony (2005) describe feminism as an "antiauthoritarian movement that has sought to unmask many traditional 'authorities' as ungrounded" (p. 59). Ramazanoglu and Holland (2002) apply this challenge to scientific authority by describing how feminist theory has been used to critique it. According to them, scientific authority asserts itself as neutral and objective, when in actuality scientific inquiry is performed by researchers who see the world through the bias of their experience. These perspectives are often Western, male, White, heteronormative, abled, and representative of the interests of the dominant economic class. It is not possible to

observe and study a phenomenon without using one's frame of reference: There is no view from nowhere, no perfect omniscience untainted by the background experiences of the observer (Harding, 1987). Feminist theory therefore can inform research by challenging the unquestioned authority of the researchers. One way in which this functions is when feminist research highlights how centering those perspectives as authoritative leaves out important and sometimes more relevant perspectives, especially on issues centered on people *different* from the researcher. I use these feminist challenges to authority in this project as I question whose inclusion and whose exclusion were used to create the new Food Studies curriculum. For example, I noted how the inclusion of a person trained as a nutritionist was ascribed expert status for curriculum development, despite her acknowledgement that she knew nothing about food systems prior to taking on the project. I also used these concepts to understand how some participants' perspectives were unquestioningly taken as authoritative, while others' were not considered authoritative or even worthy of consideration. For example, the SSU Hispanic faculty who own farms and ranches were not included in the process. By examining these inclusion and exclusion choices using feminist theory, I began to form a picture of who were considered to be authoritative on the subject.

Feminist theory for analysis of power structures and their reproduction. To understand analysis of power structures, I start with examining language as the system which undergirds power structures. Linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1983) describes language as a system of signs, in which the relationship between the word acting as a signifier and that

which is being signified is arbitrary (Lemke Bates & Buinicki, 1998). A signifier like Food Studies Curriculum can have as many different meanings as people encountering the phrase. This representation can be problematic because there is an imperfect relationship between what one intends to signify and how it is understood, which Jacques Derrida (1976) describes as slippage. Derrida would note that the signifier conjures a different meaning in each person's mind which is a slippage between signifier and signified. This fundamental challenge with language describing ideas is the foundation for structuralism, which invites individuals to pay attention to the structures which are used to differentiate ideas and things. According to structuralist theory, one understands what a thing is based on what it is different from. For example, this university's instance of Food Studies curriculum is uniquely different from another curriculum because of how its traits differ.

Because difference is the organizing feature of language, feminist theorists pay attention to how difference is used to substantiate power. Part of this critique is based on language used to substantiate binaries, even when a phenomenon is more nuanced than a rigid binary would allow. Binaries like male/female, rich/poor, White/non-White, straight/queer, and abled/disabled privilege one status over the second, and define the first term as the "normal" status and the second term as the special or degraded case. Some feminist theorists assert that viewpoints from the subordinated status provide a better perspective on a phenomenon. For example, Hartsock (1987) describes feminist standpoint as an advantage in that people who occupy a subordinated position in a binary provide an alternative perspective in describing what occurs in the hierarchy; they can observe that

which is invisible to those in the advantaged position. Privilege blinds those in the advantaged position from seeing how power works in the dynamic. As such, according to Hartsock, women's vantage point on male supremacy, for instance, can ground a powerful critique. Gender is not the only kind of difference where this sort of critique may occur. Perspectives from non-White, non-rich and other subordinated groups are valued for their standpoints' ability to ground critiques of the system and its structures.

Historically, these subjugated perspectives have been considered the special case, rather than the "normal" case, i.e. of White, male, dominant economic class perspective. Using the metaphor of a radio signal, the privileged perspective would be the intended message *signal*, and the other perspectives would be the *noise* distracting from the signal. Applying this metaphor to research, researchers look for and amplify the desired signal in the data and minimize the impact of the detracting data, the *noise*. This desire to eliminate the detracting data eliminates non-White, non-male, non-wealthy perspectives as detracting from the *important* data, further diminishing the representation of these perspectives. Feminist theory challenges these assumptions about whose perspectives count. I use feminist theory for analysis of power structures when I question who was invited to participate in the Food Studies curriculum development, who was excluded from participating, how meetings were scheduled for whose convenience, and whose interests were ultimately represented in the final curriculum. In this study, the invited *who* were food business owners, who of course represented their own interests, whereas non-owner employee perspectives were left out of the conversation.

Regarding analysis of how power structures reproduce themselves, Nader (1972) urges researchers to "study up" to examine the operationalization of power where it is wielded, to name how power functions in hierarchies. Nader suggests scientists could study "the culture of power rather than the culture of the powerless" (as cited in Davis & Craven, 2016, p. 289) to understand bureaucracy, institutions, and people who control others' lives. An aspect of how power structures reproduce themselves is that they conceal how they function (Foucault, 1977), making it difficult to name what mechanism is causing some to exert control over others' lives. Hidden hegemonies, hidden identities, hidden agendas, hidden budgets and hidden processes are the opposite of transparency. Feminist theory is a tool which calls out the obfuscation. I use feminist theory to investigate the reproduction of power structures when I follow dominant narratives of who counts as a farmer and who counts as an expert, which were historically White male farm owners. I also seek the absent dissenting narratives, which include the perspectives of farmers and experts who were not recognized as such, namely Hispanic farmers, farm workers and students interested in the major. I tease apart how the presence of these absences might reveal information about unnamed structures and how they function to reproduce power. Instead of focusing on the victim's suffering (legitimate as it is) I turn my gaze towards what is causing the suffering by studying up, as Nader recommends. I look for instances of speaking around a subject such as observing that student perspectives were not consulted, or noting discomfort with relevant topics such as faculty's fears of retaliation from administration. I listened for what seemed taboo, then dug further.

Feminist theory and naming paternalism. Paternalism means "the policy or practice on the part of people in positions of authority of restricting the freedom and responsibilities of those subordinate to them in the subordinates' supposed best interest" ("paternalism | Definition of paternalism in English by Oxford Dictionaries," n.d.) Other dictionary definitions make more explicit the meaning of its Latin root *pater,* father, to emphasize the "father knows best" quality of declaring what will be in others' best interests, "in the manner of a father dealing benevolently and often intrusively with his children [such as when] employees object to the paternalism of the old president." ("paternalism | Definition of paternalism in Dictionary.com," n.d.). Clearly there can be a gendered component to the term, but in practice it can be used to describe decision-making behavior between faculty and student, employer and employee, administrator and faculty, and owner and worker, which may also contain a racialized or ethnicized dimension when owners are White and workers are non-White or Hispanic[2]. Paternalism is also a framework to describe decision-making by settlers which impacts indigenous people or humans making decisions which impact other animals, plants, and ecosystems. I use the word paternalism to name behaviors which manifest a paternalistic decision-making strategy.

[2] "Hispanic" is a designation developed in the 1970 U.S. Census, referring to a person's ethnicity, regardless of racial self-identification, meaning a person could indicate they are Hispanic (ethnicity) as well as identify with one or more of the 5 racial classifications the census uses ("Hispanic," 2018). As the U.S. prepares for the 2020 census, Brown (2015) discusses the more fluid ways people describe themselves, and the new census questions may reclassify Hispanic into a racial category instead of an ethnic classification.

Naming the phenomena of paternalism is a tool of feminist theory in that, as mentioned previously, naming invisible structures gives researchers tools for analysis of power structures and their reproduction. My project works to name instances in which people in dominant positions use their authority to make decisions which impact others but do not include those impacted in the decision-making process, an instance of people planning *for* others rather than planning *with* them. This concept is relevant for my research in that the curriculum design relies on a committee to develop the curriculum, and the composition of this committee and the members' ability to participate meaningfully will impact the quality of the curriculum developed and its usefulness to its intended audiences. In the case of my study, a vice president invited an outside curriculum developer to design the curriculum, and university faculty were only allowed to advise on the process, limiting their meaningful participation.

Why is feminist theory a useful framework for higher education research?

In my work in higher education, I taught students who were assessed to be underprepared for college-level work, so-called developmental education students. These students were often from historically underrepresented populations who had limited access to higher education. I spent over a decade working to help individual students navigate higher education systems, at first by assisting them with their reading, writing and mathematics skills. When I later assumed an administrative role, I delved more deeply into not only supporting students to develop their individual skills but also applying feminist theory to

reframe questions of individual barriers to student success into questions about structural, institutional barriers.

I noted that there is a difference between an individual student struggling with academic skills and a student embodying traits which made the higher education journey more difficult. These traits such as having low financial resources or being the first in their family to attend college should not have been relevant to their academic success. I realized that strategies for improving reading comprehension, a changeable trait, could not impact barriers students were experiencing based on their unchangeable traits. I began applying feminist theory to reframe questions of access into concerns about how institutions create environments that are inhospitable to people who had previously been excluded from participation. My research questions have been developed as structural investigations, in that rather than focusing on the *individuals'* traits related to access, they examine the *structural* traits related to access.

After a decade of helping students with their changeable traits, such as learning to factor a polynomial in an algebra equation, I was forced to confront that there were unchangeable traits about these students, their skin color, their surname, their family wealth, which should have been irrelevant but were serving as a barrier. Advising a student of color to be careful in the campus bookstore to avoid being profiled by the security guard is an example of accommodating the unnamed power structure of White supremacy rather than working to correct the structural barrier to access. This blurring of the lines between

changeable and unchangeable traits culminates in the absurdity of suggesting to a Student of Color to "watch his back" to prevent becoming a victim of racial profiling, absolving the actual perpetrators of the racial profiling from any responsibility, consequence or remediation. The perpetrator, who has the agency to alter behavior, becomes invisible, and the language describing the problem instead focuses attention on what potential victims might do to decrease their risk. This elided responsibility of perpetrators is how institutions not only reinforce so-called risk factors but function to *create* the risks the students face.

Feminist theory is a useful framework for this project in that it gives me a way to approach the problem of this study, which led to the purpose of the study and the specific research questions I used to organize my thinking. The three feminist theory principles of challenging authority, analyzing power structures and their reproduction, and naming paternalism enable me to examine reproduction of power structures in curriculum development, noting how inclusion and exclusion choices reproduce inequities. In the next section, I delve into the scholarly context of these elements.

The Problem Statement

The problem statement for this project is Institutions of Higher Education have a history of reproducing the power structures they have inherited, perpetuating raced, classed, and gendered inequities. This is a feminist problem because it addresses power structures and their reproduction, and it acknowledges that there are inequalities based on difference.

Feminist theory concerns itself with critiquing practices which hinge on power structures based on difference. Here I describe what I mean by these terms.

Inequities. In a community of approximately 50% Hispanic people, such as the site of this research project, one would expect that approximately 50% of university students would be Hispanic, 50% of graduates, 50% of faculty, and 50% of trustees. This university is classified as a federally-designated Hispanic Serving Institution, meaning that at least 25% of students are of Hispanic heritage. By inequities, I mean differential outcomes, regardless of intent of policy, which are based on difference, such as disproportionate percentages of some populations achieving benchmarks compared to others. Inequities exist when these percentages are *not* distributed as one would expect: when there are fewer Hispanic students enrolled than in the general population, or when higher paid and higher decision-making roles are held disproportionately by some populations (for example White and/or male) than as represented in the overall population.

Differential Outcomes. When I use the term differential outcomes, I mean people from different demographic categories achieving higher education degrees at different rates. I also mean that there may be differential outcomes for people of different socio-economic statuses in that people from wealthier backgrounds tend to achieve higher education credentials at higher rates than those from lower socio-economic status. For instance, in a study by the National Center for Educational Statistics (2015), 14% of students from low socio-economic status households attained a bachelor's degree or higher compared

to 60% of students from high socio-economic households. These differential outcomes also have a ripple effect in that higher education attainment correlates with other outcomes. Cutler and Lleras-Muney (2008) report significant correlations between higher education attainment and mortality, heart disease, diabetes, lost days of work, smoking, alcohol consumption, and self-reported poor health. People with four-year degrees earn on average three times what people with only a high school diploma earn (Strauss, 2011).

Of course these differential outcomes have differences within them, in that sometimes these differential outcomes become flipped for some demographic groups. Female students earn more degrees than male students in every category of associates, bachelors, and masters or higher (National Center for Education Statistics, 2018). However, men earn higher median incomes in all educational categories than women, and men with a high school diploma earn more on average ($751/week) than women with a two-year degree ($661/week) (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015).

Power structures which Institutions of Higher Education have inherited. Institutions of Higher Education work within male-dominated, wealth-dominated, and White-dominated social structures. These power structures undergird U.S. higher education systems as I will describe in the following sections.

Male-dominated social structures. Male-dominated social structures are those in which most decision-makers, board of trustee members, and senior administrators are men and see problems from a male-centric perspective which elides or dismisses non-male

perspectives as noise rather than signal. These structures are historical: U.S. higher education was originally designed for White males from land-owning families, and only in the past few decades have institutions been incentivized by federal financial aid policy to admit women (Cohen & Kisker, 2009).

Wealth-dominated social structures. Regarding wealth-dominated social structures, I mean that the decision makers, board of trustee members, and senior administrators are from the owner class and see problems from a wealth-centric perspective which ignores or dismisses non-ownership class peoples' perspectives as noise rather than signal. These structures are historical in that higher education was designed for wealthier classes. Only in recent decades did the U.S. federal government begin incentivizing lower-resourced student participation through programs such as Title IV, Perkins Grant, and TRIO programs (Cohen & Kisker, 2009). By owner class, I mean those who own land, homes, and businesses. Critical Race Theory posits that the construct of Whiteness is a *commodity* to be protected, so owner class may also mean ownership of privilege through other power structures as well (Arroyo & Gasman, 2014; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Kendall, 2016; Kẏra, 2014; Stewart, 2017). Later in this chapter I address commodification with regard to neoliberalism, which reduces all values to economic values and bases the ability to consume on access to capital. Chapter 6 also focuses on commodification.

White-dominated social structures. Most decision-makers, board of trustee members, and senior administrators at the institution for this project and in most U.S. higher education institutions identify as White and see problems from a White-centric perspective which elides or dismisses non-White perspectives as noise rather than signal. According to the Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics (2016), 76% of all U.S. faculty are White, and further 82% of full professors are White. Additionally curriculum is often disproportionately representative of White peoples' perspectives and authorship (Peters, 2015). Whiteness theory posits that "the whiteness of the teaching staff reinforces the whiteness of the curricula, which both work to reinforce the association between whiteness and intellect. All this contributes to the conditions that make racism possible in higher education," (Joseph-Salisbury, 2018, para. 8). Picower's (2009) important qualitative work with preservice White teachers posits that they actively work to protect White supremacist structures, even as her study subjects were students in a multiculturalism education course. Students in Picower's study used "tools of Whiteness" to protect and maintain stereotypical understandings of race such as fear, deficiency and White victimhood. She classified the tools into emotional tools ("stop trying to make me feel guilty"), ideological tools ("now that things are equal") and performative tools (*shh-ing* discussions on racism). White-dominated social structures are historical in that U.S. higher education was designed for White students, and only in the past few decades have institutions been open to non-White students (Cohen & Kisker, 2009).

Protection, ownership and reproduction. Legal structures in the U.S. can be sorted into property law, criminal law, and civil rights law. Sometimes institutions focus on protecting property over protecting rights, and neoliberalism uses legal structures to leverage the policing structures of the state to protect private property interests over individuals' or classes of individuals' rights, reproducing inequities based on ownership. Legal scholars forming what was to become Critical Race Theory describe Whiteness as property, notably law professors like Derrick Bell, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, Richard Delgado, and Jane Stefancic. Owner class-dominated structures combine with White-dominated social structures to further reproduce inequities. Legal scholar Roy L. Brooks poses the question, "What would the legal landscape look like today if people of color were the decision-makers?" (1994, p. 85), which is similar to my purpose statement's focus on critiquing practices of inclusion and exclusion of stakeholders during the curriculum development process, positing that it reproduces inherited privilege.

Male-dominated social structures, wealth-dominated social structures and Whiteness-dominated social structures work together to reproduce the power accumulated through the structures. As Picower (2009) noted, whether conscious or not, people who benefit within these structures actively work to maintain the power dynamics of the structures, which has the effect of future people experiencing these same structures at work. Future people includes the biological offspring of people benefitting from these power structures, as they inherit not only some power structure traits from parents (for example, Whiteness,

ownership-class, a family name which opens doors) but also material advantages such as inherited wealth, land, and established businesses. Parents make choices that benefit their own offspring at the expense of other peoples' children (Hagerman, 2018).

Finally, an historical context for the inherited privileges being reproduced in U.S. higher education is found in the very way we define where U.S. higher education began. Textbooks on the history of U.S. higher education invariably orient the starting point of this history with the colonies of New England (Cohen & Kisker, 2009; Ornsteing & Hunkins, 2009), positing Harvard College in 1636 as the first institution. This settler colonial orientation denies the existence of any education structures on the continent prior to the establishment of the colonial schools which perpetuated systems brought over from England, and systems which themselves were situated in Whiteness, property-ownership, and maleness. Although the popularity of the musical *Hamilton* has made a generation of audiences aware of the resistance to old world structures such as aristocratic inherited titles, Harvard College used to pass down professorships from fathers to sons (Gardiner, 1936).

Again, the problem statement for my research focuses on this history of reproducing inherited power structures which perpetuate inequalities based on racial, class and gender differences. I crafted a purpose for this study which launched from this history to more specifically address how *practices* within institutions reproduce the power structures. The feminist theory concepts of challenging authority, analyzing power structures and their reproduction, and naming paternalism frame this purpose.

The Purpose Statement

The purpose of my study is to critique how practices of inclusion and exclusion of stakeholders during the curriculum development process at Southwestern State University reproduce inherited privilege. In this section I describe how I use the terms inherited privilege and curriculum development in order to specify how these concepts function within the analysis.

By inherited privilege, I mean the raced, classed, gendered, and other (able, heteronormative, cisgender) privileges which are reproduced in higher education. These traits are unchangeable whereas education should focus on traits which the student has the ability to change, changeable traits. I make the changeable versus unchangeable distinction because presumably a goal of higher education is to assist students in changing traits of themselves such as improving their research, thinking, writing, and analytical skills. Unchangeable traits such as skin color should be irrelevant in an educational context. If higher education is not about changeable traits, then it functions more like a mechanism for reproducing inherited privilege based on unchangeable traits. In terms of this study, I noted how my former student Reyes' lack of access to inherited farmland and water rights was a real barrier for him to achieve his goals, and there was nothing about the curriculum which could address this trait. Inherited privilege is reproduced through educational structures when systemic barriers based on difference (racial, gender, wealth) are also reproduced within the educational institution, such as when decision-makers for curriculum represent and

decide with the interests of the owner-class without considering the needs, desires, and goals of the people who will be impacted by their decisions, people like Reyes.

I make the distinction about inherited privilege because wealth is a changeable trait. Presumably a second goal of higher education is to create pathways for social mobility, for students from low-resource backgrounds to use education to improve their socio-economic status. However, the inherited privilege of wealth, being a child in a family from a wealthy zip code, for example, correlates with educational metrics like achievement scores. It also means that students with access to family wealth can afford educational opportunities like unpaid internships, inclusive of student teaching. Most full-time college students are relatively poor in the years they are in classes, but those with family financial support have much more stability with that safety net (Roller, 2018). Higher education designed for "traditional students" presumes that parents pay the student's tuition and provide housing during summer and holiday campus housing breaks. It presumes that there are parents who will provide financial support for unexpected costs like travel expenses, an expensive textbook, and semesters abroad, whether it is true for all students or not. In this study, some interviewees described college students in relation to their parents as if the parent were a customer paying for their child's experience of education, presuming a situation of the students functioning within an inherited privilege paradigm based on their parents' financial situation and expectations of higher education, regardless of the actual circumstances of students and their financial relationship to their parents. In some

circumstances, students may have more financial stability than their parents, using part of their student loan or Perkins funding to support the family household for example. When decision-makers in the curriculum development process exclude the perspectives of low resource students, they may inadvertently create curriculum which neglects their needs.

The other major term used in this study's purpose statement is curriculum development. Curriculum development is a relatively new academic discipline, with scholars marking its start in 1918 with the publication of *The Curriculum* by Franklin Bobbitt (Ornsteing & Hunkins, 2009). Ornsteing and Hunkins explain that up until the early twentieth century, schools were localized in their instructional content, with much of it oriented around church teachings. They note that as universal educational access grew with the progressive era, standardization of educational content also grew. Curriculum decisions are political decisions in that they affect many people and can be strongly influenced by those empowered with setting the curriculum, which is why I am interested in practices of inclusion and exclusion of stakeholders in the process of curriculum development at SSU.

Giroux and Penna (1983) coined the term *hidden curriculum* to refer to unintended effects of the curriculum and the process of schooling, including unintended values statements, norms, and biases which occur in the learning environment, including during recess or lunch. Curricula may also oversimplify complex concepts, presenting skewed perspectives about historically minoritized populations. The Food Studies curriculum being developed by SSU became problematic because it utilized perspectives from only a subset of

food workers (those who own food businesses like farm owners and restaurant owners) and excluded perspectives from students and non-owners who work in the food system. Problematic curriculum development can occur when important perspectives are excluded from the curriculum development process.

The problem statement focuses on the history of reproducing inherited power structures which perpetuate inequalities based on racial, class, and gender differences. I crafted a purpose for this study which launched from this history to more specifically address how *practices* within institutions reproduce the power structures. The feminist theory concepts of challenging authority, analyzing power structures and their reproduction, and naming paternalism frame this purpose. The next step is to undertake a feminist critique of neoliberalism, noting its structures which reproduce inherited privilege by exclusion, efficiency mindsets, and commodification. I connect neoliberalism with feminist theory because neoliberalism works against democratic decision-making, instead amplifying positions which are already empowered to continue consolidating power, at the expense of minoritized perspectives and the needs of people not in the dominant positions.

Neoliberalism as a Framework for Understanding this Project

As I embarked on researching the phenomenon of curriculum development at the university, neoliberalism emerged as a framework which began to dominate my analysis. In this section I describe the aspects of neoliberalism germane to university curriculum

development. This is relevant because the curriculum development was taking place under a crisis circumstance: The university was on accreditation probation, enrollment had been shrinking for several years, and faculty expressed fear about departmental eliminations as well as elimination of tenure-line positions. Naomi Klein (2007) describes this sort of crisis moment as an opportunity for agents to use neoliberal forces to push through unpopular policies through undemocratic means, in what she calls *disaster capitalism*. In the months after Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, for example, thousands of teachers were fired, enabling the conversion of dozens of public schools to charter schools.

Neoliberalism can be a difficult theory to pin down, being used in different ways to describe political and economic phenomena. Kotz (2015) describes neoliberalism as a belief that a free market will allow efficiency, economic growth, income distribution, and technological progress to occur, and any state intervention to encourage these phenomena will worsen economic performance. This *laissez-faire* economic model weds with privatization, transferring benefits which used to be seen as an accessible commons, such as a public university, into a commodity for consumption by individuals who have the means to buy their access. Harvey (2005) notes that this economic model is not just *laisse-faire* but incorporates massive state support and yet also fosters the concept of radical individualism. Radical individualism pits individuals against each other, competing for resources. Monbiot (2016) adds that "neoliberalism sees competition as the defining characteristic of human relations. It redefines citizens as consumers, whose democratic choices are best exercised by

buying and selling, a process that rewards merit and punishes inefficiency" (para. 4). Privileging efficiency over the needs of diverse Others is a relevant aspect of neoliberalism in the analysis of this dissertation project, as will be presented in Chapter 5 as I discuss how the meetings which occurred for the curriculum committees seemed to focus on efficiency of deploying a Food Studies degree plan as soon as possible.

Gibson and Ross (2007) tackle neoliberalism in education specifically, noting that universities are more and more defined with business-oriented narratives. As such, the need for greater *profit*, i.e. increasing tuition revenue while at the same time decreasing labor costs through strategies like adjunctification, drives greater bureaucratization of the working conditions of faculty and of the learning conditions of students, while simultaneously diminishing democratic processes which could inform or challenge those bureaucratic impositions. Again, framing people as *consumers* leaves no space for engaging with democratic processes as *citizens*, or faculty senators or student union members, where voting on policy and spending priorities might exert influence, the collective power to solve problems. Neoliberalism says if people do not like how things are, they should just make a different choice rather than use their collective power to change how things are.

Concepts of Neoliberalism which are Germane to this Project Investigating a University's Development of a Food Studies Curriculum

Deregulation of environmental and labor protections and processes for the benefit of corporations. In this project, I did not examine the regulatory frameworks of the institution, *per se*, but I critique processes which historically were regulated by more democratic input, specifically the collaborative faculty curriculum development process. Historically, university faculty determined what should be the curriculum of the institution. When institutions side-step established democratic processes, they might be incorporating important historically underrepresented stakeholders' perspectives, or they might be magnifying the business owners' interests over other stakeholders' interests. In SSU's curriculum development process, the university president implemented a "new" faculty approval process through the Food Studies curriculum design, superseding the existing faculty-driven process for developing new curriculum and excluding faculty from meaningfully participating in the process. Faculty were instead presented with a curriculum developed by an outside consultant who was paid with adjunct faculty funds.

Regarding labor protections, Institutions of Higher Education have trended toward diminishing tenure and full-time employment as labor protections for instructors, replacing full-time tenurable instructors with contingent faculty, part-time adjuncts, and contract workers who lack these employment rights (American Association of University Professors, 2017). The most recent Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) dataset shows non-tenured faculty comprise 73% of U.S. higher education instructional staff (Hand, 2018). Adjunctification is relevant to this analysis because the consultant hired by the university had been told that the university would hire a full-time tenure-track faculty

member to teach the courses she was developing, but instead she was offered an adjunct contract to teach them.

Externalization of costs. With a shift towards business-oriented narratives, Institutions of Higher Education work towards sloughing off costs to be borne by other entities, much like a polluting business walking away from the clean-up, leaving taxpayers with the cost. The very concept of increasing tuition revenue (creating a new Food Studies program to attract new student enrollment) without spending money on the people performing the labor (hiring one or more full-time, benefits-holding, tenure-protected employees) is a way of externalizing the costs of the program. If the instructional positions do not pay a living wage, some other entity will be responsible to cover the costs that make the instructor possible, often meaning the contingent instructor holds multiple part-time roles with multiple organizations or depends on someone else's income to pay the bills. Adjunct instructors also may qualify for programs such as food stamps, so taxpayers may end up paying for some of these cost savings to the university.

A second way that externalization of costs works within neoliberalism in higher education occurs when faculty are told there is no budget for a project or program, and are instead encouraged to seek external funding via a competitive process, either internally (e.g., institutional mini-grants) or externally (e.g., federal, state or foundation grants). This competitive process structure has the effect of creating additional administrative work for the applicant (completing grant applications or reimbursement forms) and allowing whatever

entity that will make the funding decision to exert undue influence in a hidden process, rather than a budgeting process that is transparent and more democratic. In the presentation to faculty describing the new Food Studies major, it was suggested that grant funding could make the new program "cost neutral." This undemocratic process is addressed in my analysis of the paternalistic mindset undergirding the choice to exclude faculty from the process.

Bishop and Green (2009) use the term *philanthrocapitalism* to describe the influence of billionaire activists like Bill and Melinda Gates, George Soros, and the Koch brothers (Charles and David) when they fund projects. Bishop and Green use the term *hyperagents* to describe the agency of these individuals, who can influence policy and practice with their vast wealth in ways that would otherwise take a social movement to do. Critics of philanthrocapitalism point out the disproportionate influence of these wealthy donors, the absence of accountability they experience through these mechanisms, and the self-benefit they produce when their solutions happen to involve a monopolistic usage of their product (Rieff, 2015). This *venture philanthropy* looks more like strategic investments meant to solve a public problem through their (privately owned) technologies. Rieff further points to another aspect of foundation money's potential influence on academics: Research follows money sources, and research agendas get set by what projects these foundations fund, diminishing academic freedom, reproduction of local knowledge, and diversity of perspectives in inquiry. In connection with this study, the large global food corporations which might fund Food Studies programming could exert influence on programming to

conform to their business models, or might quash research which could damage their brands. Again, this study considers how *who* gets included in curriculum decisions determines how power structures are reproduced. I specifically address how faculty were excluded from meaningfully participating in this process, and the usage instead of food business owners' perspectives framed the curriculum on their desires for what employees should know. Additionally, neoliberalism's focus on the interests of business owners and of private property owners creates the power of the economic elite (Harvey, 2005), a system of justification and legitimation of tactics used to achieve this goal.

Efficiency mindsets. Being able to work without oversight or input from others can also be considered efficient, another neoliberal concept which is relevant to this project. F.W. Taylor introduced his time and motion studies to improve efficiencies in manufacturing and management, and eventually neoliberal forces influenced higher education to also embrace scientific efficiency as a goal for improving educating students (Horvath, 2014; Taylor, 1911). If we assume that efficiencies are an important goal for education, then we begin to design education systems for maximum efficiency, relying on assembly-line like principles of standardization and uniformity.

Designing for standardization and uniformity has consequences for both instruction and curriculum: Educators build the education system based on an idealized version of students rather than addressing the real needs of the students who show up at the classroom door (Schneider & Ingram, 1993). In this study, idealized students were the potential future

employees of food businesses, but the needs of the actual students were not considered, resulting in a paternalistic view of students as future employees rather than, say, as future competing business owners in their own right. Standardization and uniformity also lead to simplified curriculum which limits nuance and misrepresents complex phenomenon (Sleeter & Stillman, 2005). In this case, the curriculum was designed to become a tool for creating a pool of potential employees for regional food businesses, rather than addressing the more nuanced and complex needs future food entrepreneurs might have. Additionally, systems adhering to standardization and uniformity resist change from within, de-emphasizing the authority of members within the system (i.e., instructors) to initiate changes which leads to deprofessionalization and adjunctification of the faculty (Apple, 2009). This standardization manifested in this project with the treatment of the curriculum consultant as an interchangeable instructional cog in the machine rather than the unique perspective she could have brought as a tenurable faculty member. It also was manifested with the dismissal of the existing faculty's expertise and their authority to produce a Food Studies curriculum themselves.

Privatization of what used to be public services. Public higher education, just a generation ago, was highly subsidized through state tax revenues (Eason, 2018). My parents tell me stories about how my mother, working as a school secretary, made enough money to pay the family bills and my father's tuition bill at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Other relatives talk about working a summer job and saving enough in those few months to pay for tuition, room, and board for the entire school year. A classmate of my

dad worked as a piano player in a pizza parlor four nights a week and made enough money in a week to cover a whole semester's tuition. The ethos of the time was that higher education was a public good, and it was a good use of Wisconsin residents' taxes to support a university system for the societal benefits it produces ("The Wisconsin Idea – University of Wisconsin–Madison" n.d.). Today, higher education is framed as more of a private benefit experienced by the student, and a student is expected to take out student loans in order to individually fund their education.

Today so-called publicly funded colleges have experienced an inversion of public funding. The state where this project took place introduced a "College Opportunity Fund" in 2003, which is an amount that is reimbursed to the university after in-state residents apply for it. In 2000, the state's taxes funded 68% of higher education cost for the state schools, with students paying the remainder with tuition. By 2018, that ratio had nearly flipped, with tuition rising to fill the gap from disinvestment from the state (Eason, 2018). Eason notes that this is also a national trend in that for the first time the majority of U.S. states rely on student tuition and fees to fund the bulk of the cost of public higher education. Because SSU is a state university serving in a low-resource region, this trend of states defunding higher education in favor of tuition-based funding perhaps led to the institution's financial crisis which prompted the Food Studies project to develop a new revenue source.

Consumers versus citizens. Another neoliberal concept germane to this project is the framing of people as *consumers*, that all decision-making is market-oriented choice. The

thinking is that people have the right to purchase what they need, regardless of whether they have the means to pay the purchase price. The consumer frame limits agency and creates potential for paternalistic actors to limit which choices may be presented, such as an administration that limits the faculty's engagement in curriculum development. Economists Thaler and Sunstein (2003) use the term *libertarian paternalism* to describe the idea that it is both possible and legitimate for institutions to affect behavior while also respecting freedom of choice.

When students are framed as consumers, access to higher education becomes a matter of being chosen by an institution and choosing an institution. If no institutions choose a student via an admission offer, or no affordable institutions are available to choose, exclusion from higher education is framed as a *choice* that student made. That student should have chosen to try harder in high school. That student should have chosen a college that would be a better fit for his or her financial circumstances, rather than racking up student loan debt. *Caveat emptor*: Let the buyer beware. In this study, students were framed as consumers by interviewees, and committee members did not consider how students' needs would fit into the new Food Studies program. In contrast, students could be otherwise framed as university citizens through their participation in student government roles structured to give students a place at the table in decisions which affect them, as a student representative to the faculty senate for example, or through grassroots activism efforts such as petitioning a university to remove curriculum seen to be racist or petitioning a university to broaden the curriculum to be more inclusive of non-White or other perspectives. Students

at SSU however were denied a voice in the curriculum development process, and when their perspectives were considered, they were framed as consumers of the university rather than as people needing agency in the economy beyond consuming, that is, they were not recognized as potential producers in the economy.

Commodification and fungibility. Another consequence of the logic of neoliberalism is that framing all decision-making as market-oriented choice forces everything to be considered interchangeable, disposable, and replaceable, including people (van den Berg, 2016). Students become the tuition dollars they bring in. Faculty become labor costs to be diminished through adjunctification. The idea that people should be considered unique or important beyond their utility seems quaint in this framework. Although universities, including Appalachian State and the university in the study, have begun to survey their faculty about their living conditions, specifically related to food security, wide-spread and increased usage of adjunct contracts show that in practice there is little concern for adjunct workers' living conditions. New students will still arrive at the door with fistfuls of tuition dollars (or promissory notes on student loans), and new adjunct faculty will still be willing to work for exploitative short-term contracts.

Changing out people like tires at a NASCAR race may be desirable from the business owner's perspective, but the destabilization for the individuals affected by this disruption creates trauma and tremendous waste for them and the communities in which they live. Destabilization and disruption are a feature, rather than a bug, of neoliberalism (Klein,

2007). Neoliberalism posits that destabilization and disruption are positive ways to create new markets for consumer products. However, this destabilization for the benefit of profit externalizes the costs to human lives created through innovation, costs to be borne by the consumer. Helm (2018) notes that this disruption works for companies looking to profit from breaking current systems by creating new markets, reinventing wheels that are positioned in a profit space, protected from competition. This is an extractive mindset, harvesting opportunity and wealth in one location, wreaking havoc, then moving onto the next system to break and profit from.

Destabilization is also related to philanthrocapitalism in that philanthrocapitalism also destabilizes through harvesting opportunity and reducing competition. However, philanthrocapitalism has the veneer of being community-minded and helpful, the Savior complex of the billionaire's brand being able to resuscitate a struggling public good. Branding is essential in this framework because consumers need to know how to distinguish one identical product from another, and those who own the brand need to be enriched by their ownership. Harvard historian Jill Lepore explains that disruptive innovation "is basically destroying things because we can and because there can be money made doing so" (as cited in Goldstein, 2018, para. 23). She concludes that "institutions that mattered to public culture [are] being dismantled, and institutions in which how we know what we know can be arbitrated — journalism, the academy — [are] being destroyed" (para 24).

In this study, faculty on the advisory committee expressed concern that the new Food Studies major might poach students from other existing majors, forcing departments to compete against each other for enrollment. One faculty member noted that there might be no net increase in tuition dollars if no new students are brought into the university; however, departments on the losing end of enrollments might be shut down and replaced by departments in the model of the Food Studies program, with staffing being filled by cheaper adjunct contracts rather than full-time tenure-track contracts. Indeed, the Food Studies program funding model presented to faculty senate indicated that the program would be staffed by adjunct faculty.

Research Questions and Rationale

The previous sections have laid out the rationale for the problem and purpose statement for this study. The problem that grounds my research is embedded in the history of higher education institutions reproducing inherited power structures which perpetuate inequalities based on racial, class, and gender differences. I crafted a purpose for this study which launched from this history to more specifically address how *practices* within institutions reproduce the power structures. The feminist theory concepts of challenging authority, analyzing power structures and their reproduction, and naming paternalism frame this purpose. I engaged in a feminist critique of neoliberalism, noting its structures which reproduce inherited privilege by exclusion, efficiency mindsets and commodification. I connect neoliberalism with feminist theory because neoliberalism works against democratic

decision-making, instead amplifying positions which are already empowered to continue consolidating power at the expense of minoritized perspectives and the needs of people not in the dominant positions.

All of these concepts work together to guide the specific research questions. My research questions ask:

RQ1: How do socio-cultural practices of inclusion and exclusion, among those developing the Food Studies program, function to support traditional power structures?

RQ2: How does the exclusion of faculty from the Food Studies curriculum development process reveal paternalistic, neoliberal efficiency mindsets?

RQ3: How did the Food Studies curriculum development process commodify the needs, desires, and goals of key stakeholders, especially those who have been historically minoritized (non-White, non-wealthy, non-male), in order to sustain dominant power structures?

These questions integrate the aforementioned key concepts from feminist theory and neoliberalism into a coherent inquiry and analytic strategy. Feminist theory's ability to challenge authority, to analyze power structures and their reproduction, and to name paternalism structures my analysis. The key concepts from the problem statement include focus on inequities; differential outcomes; power structures Institutions of Higher Education

have inherited; male-dominated, wealth-dominated, and White-dominated social structures; and protection, ownership, and reproduction of these structures. The key concepts from the purpose statement include exclusion of stakeholders in the curriculum development process and how that reproduces inherited privilege. The key concepts from neoliberalism are deregulation of environmental and labor protections and processes for the benefit of corporations, externalization of costs, efficiency mindsets, privatization of what used to be public services, framing people as consumers, and commodification. Below I map how each research question utilizes these concepts.

RQ1: How do socio-cultural practices of inclusion and exclusion, among those developing the Food Studies program, function to support traditional power structures?

Relevant concepts for RQ1 are analysis of power structures and their reproduction, and inclusion and exclusion of stakeholders in the curriculum development process.

RQ2: How does the exclusion of faculty from the Food Studies curriculum development process reveal paternalistic, neoliberal efficiency mindsets?

Relevant concepts for RQ2 are exclusion of stakeholders in the curriculum development process, naming paternalism, and efficiency mindsets.

RQ3: How did the Food Studies curriculum development process commodify the needs, desires, and goals of key stakeholders, especially those who have been historically

minoritized (non-White, non-wealthy, non-male), in order to sustain dominant power structures?

Relevant concepts for RQ3 are commodification; inequities; differential outcomes; power structures Institutions of Higher Education have inherited; male-dominated, wealth-dominated, and White-dominated social structures; and protection, ownership, and reproduction of these structures. Analysis of reproduction of these power structures should lead to understandings about reproducing inherited privilege, thus fulfilling the purpose of the study.

Summary

This chapter describes the rationale for the problem statement and purpose statement of this study, creating the scholarly context for the research questions. Elements of feminist theory and neoliberalism frame the study. This theoretical grounding enables me to dive more deeply into neoliberalism as a framework for analysis of curriculum development in higher education. I needed to give attention to feminist theory, specifically the aspects of it which I am using for this project and its relation to neoliberalism, because the methodology also follows from these elements. I invite the reader to consider how power structures reproduce themselves even in the research process because next I needed to interrogate my relationship to the research setting and my role as researcher in light of *my* subjectivities and

power dynamics within the study. The next chapter describes the feminist methodological framework of feminist ethnography used in this study, where I do just that.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Research Design

The "fieldwork" for my research began long before I officially entered the field. When the time came to write my dissertation prospectus, I proposed one theoretical framework and methodology; however, in the course of analysis I discovered I had something different to say about the curriculum process I was examining. In the months following data collection for this study, I tried out different ways of "thinking with theory," a technique Jackson & Mazzei (2012) describe, working to make sense of all that I brought back. In some ways, a poststructural analysis, a deconstruction of texts, made the most sense to discover the relations of discourses. In other ways, posthumanism would have given me a way to talk about what the *food* was doing in the Food Studies curriculum process. I considered how colonialism might be at work with the paternalistic attitudes and behaviors I witnessed, so I considered post-colonialism, anti-colonialism, and Indigenous scholars' perspectives on settlers' impacts with regards to Predominantly White Institutions serving in diverse communities. Smith (2012) as cited in Davis & Craven (2016) reflects on how imperialism and colonialism are perpetuated through research on indigenous peoples and suggests methodologies for decolonizing science. My mind kept blinking through the impressions, the sensations, the confirmations of what I was expecting to find, and the challenges which I could not fit into the worldviews I brought. I experimented with blogging poetic snippets. I curated articles in my social media accounts as a way to keep reading alongside my writing and sense-making, while following and fangirling scholars across these

different epistemologies. It was sort of like trying on different philosophical outfits: do I feel *morning mist* today?

In my way of being in the world, compartmentalization is difficult for me. If I am thinking through an idea, every television show, bus advertisement, social media post, political news bit, conversation with a friend, and walk down to the lake presented itself as a possible bit of data to be integrated into my analysis. One morning I was walking a friend's dog and considered the dog's methodology as he stopped to smell every tree and puddle: he collected data through smells which made sense to him. He was probably categorizing smells by species, by gender, and maybe he could even tell what another dog ate based on these smells. He seemed to know what was real and worthy of study, and he had an epistemology: Knowledge came from smells. And he also knew how to produce smells which would communicate information to others. Sniffing might not be a good methodology for my project, but it worked for the dog. I would have to find something suitable for my task.

After journeying through different theories and methodologies that have energized my thinking over several years as a teacher, educational leader, and a doctoral student, I decided on feminist ethnography as a methodology suitable for this study. In the previous chapter, I described three elements of feminist theory which animated my thinking for this project. I described how feminist theory can be used to challenge authority, to analyze power structures and their reproduction, and to name paternalism. These elements of feminist theory also inform the methodology of feminist ethnography. This project challenged me to

use a methodology to critique how practices of inclusion and exclusion of stakeholders during the curriculum development process reproduce inherited privilege. Feminist ethnography is an appropriate approach to critique these practices because my extended time in the field required me to consider my relationship to the research setting to understand how my embeddedness functioned to position me as an insider and also an outsider to the Food Studies curriculum development process. I wanted to understand the power structures and their reproduction and needed to first establish how I was situated within them. I also wanted to preserve and enhance the dignity of everyone's perspectives, and feminist methodology requires this sort of deep care for ethics. Feminist ethnography would show to be a useful tool to accomplish these aims.

The problem that I address in my research is that Institutions of Higher Education have a history of reproducing the power structures they have inherited, perpetuating raced, classed, and gendered inequities. Feminist methodology offered me the tools to address this reproduction of power structures by providing a focus on the politics of difference, how difference is used to leverage power, to potentially exclude important perspectives in the Food Studies curriculum development process. Feminist methodology also enjoins me to consider how those in privileged positions making decisions for others without including those others meaningfully in the process may be engaging in paternalistic decision-making which further institutionalizes inherited privilege.

A feature of Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) *Thinking with Theory* feminist methodology and analytical framework is that it allows for the researcher to start in the

middle of analysis and work backward to frame the research questions based on the analysis. As such, I was able to craft research questions post-analysis, meaning, I wrote my theoretical analyses, chapters 4, 5 and 6, and then decoded the analysis to create three research questions which introduce the reader to and through the analysis. In this way, the questions serve as a construct to guide the reader. I use them to guide the reader *to* the analysis because I need to give an introductory element to the dissertation, and I use the research questions to also guide the reader *through* the organization of the analysis, one idea leading to the next, and yet the analysis chapters functioning independently of each other. It is a legitimate practice to revise one's research questions after collecting data, to refocus, to expand or to narrow in, to even change epistemologic frameworks, as was necessary in my case. I initially proposed a dissertation utilizing a poststructuralist framework, and this methodology allowed me to revise my epistemologic framework from poststructural to critical after analysis. Jackson and Mazzei (2012) describe a tension between the creation of data versus the collection of data. My analysis created the data, so I had to go back and ask appropriate questions that would guide the reader to and through it. Jackson & Mazzei (2012) write about bringing the reader into the threshold for the reader to draw their conclusions from the arguments presented, a showing rather than a telling.

The research questions for this study are:

RQ1: How do socio-cultural practices of inclusion and exclusion, among those developing the Food Studies program, function to support traditional power structures?

RQ2: How does the exclusion of faculty from the Food Studies curriculum development process reveal paternalistic, neoliberal efficiency mindsets?

RQ3: How did the Food Studies curriculum development process commodify the needs, desires, and goals of key stakeholders, especially those who have been historically minoritized (non-White, non-wealthy, non-male), in order to sustain dominant power structures?

Feminist methodology enabled me to engage these research questions because its focus on critical awareness of the politics of difference provides the framework to examine how inclusion and exclusion functioned within the Food Studies curriculum development process. I looked for ways in which difference operated within traditional power structures, and noted how paternalism operated when key stakeholders were excluded from meaningfully participating in the process. Because feminist methodology concerns itself with addressing inequalities, I was able to use it to critique neoliberal traits such as efficiency mindsets and their relation to exclusion and commodification. Asking research questions which normalize inequality and blaming those on the downside of social hierarchies have been the norm for much of social science research (Sprague, 2016). By framing my research on the privileged node of binaries (on Whiteness, for example) I challenged assumptions about existing power structures as I described how the power structures function. Feminist methodologies analyze power structures and their reproduction (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002); therefore this methodology was useful for examining how the power structures present in the Food Studies curriculum development process function.

Research Design

In the previous chapter, I explained how a feminist critique of neoliberalism is the overarching framework that structured all aspects of the project including the way I formed my research questions, topic, purpose and problem. It informed the way I interrogated myself as a researcher, the way I examined the topic's relationship to existing scholarship, the way I collected and analyzed data, and the way I reported my findings. As ethnography is a methodology for studying a culture through its representations, a feminist ethnography uses feminist theory in its design, representation and analysis. Feminist ethnography is necessary for this project because it gives me an opportunity to describe whose stories count and whose knowledges are subordinated to dominant narratives (Davis & Craven, 2016). My task was to analyze the power structures animating the narratives provided by the interviewees and the texts related to the curriculum development to then describe how they function. Additionally, critiquing neoliberalism emerged as a way to tie together the elements of exclusion, efficiency and commodification in higher education, using theory to analyze the data (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). I saw the elements first, and then thinking with feminist theory led me to see how the elements manifested in ways which supported traditional power structures and those who have historically benefited from them, such as people from wealthier backgrounds, while appearing to have happened as an unintended consequence of time saving, i.e. as efficiency mindsets.

I posit that those of us who engage in research in a critical paradigm are forced to work with our flawed inherited tools as we analyze the narratives and power structures of

institutions while we use them. This tension between the imperfect tools and the ideals toward which I strive is the setting for feminist methodology. *Reflexivity*, a critical awareness of the *politics of difference* and a deep care for *ethics* are traits of feminist research methodology and traits I consider as I frame this research project.

What is Feminist Methodology?

Feminist research methodolog(ies) are difficult to classify, as their definitions are contested (Davis & Craven, 2016; Hesse-Biber, 2014; Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002). There is no monolithic methodology, yet one may identify traits which signal that a research project may be classified as a feminist research project. As I described in the previous chapter, feminist theory can be used to challenge authority, to analyze power structures and their reproduction, and to name paternalism. It follows that a feminist methodology has traits which address these uses, specifically *reflexivity*, a critical awareness of the *politics of difference,* and a deep care for *ethics.* I associate challenging authority with *reflexivity*, analyzing power structures and their reproduction with the *politics of difference,* and naming paternalism with a deep care for *ethics.* Each of these traits are described in detail in the following subsections.

Reflexivity. *Reflexivity* is a trait associated with interpretive methodology in that the researcher engages in thinking about her relation to the research environment and her use and potential abuse of the role of researcher. In the role of researcher, I am telling others' tales for explicitly the purpose of writing a dissertation and possibly for other motives which may

benefit the researcher without benefiting the community (Davis & Craven, 2016). I questioned "why did I come back *here*?" to do my research, and friends in the area asked the same thing, as they saw me as having escaped the magnetic force field of the region which kept so many there, the inertia of place, even a beautiful place. Would I act, as some before me may have done, to enrich myself by "studying" poverty, a struggling school? Would I commodify my friendships, the trust I had cultivated, to use this trust to access insider insights, to then extract?

My desire to challenge authority by thinking with feminist theory presses against the realities of how writing about another's culture, by way of ethnographic analysis, is fraught with power struggles based on the authority of the author, namely me. For one, there is no monolithic *culture* to be represented or misrepresented. My choosing which stories are relevant is part of the methodology, and I exercise researcher power through these choices. To tell the stories of the interviewees for this study, I was not only *describing* them but *inscribing* them, with my own ways of seeing. For example, my own way of seeing inscribed a lesbian interviewee as potentially at-risk for being excluded because of her orientation, leading me to consider if that might become a relevant category to watch for in analysis. My personal experiences of having a lesbian sister and watching her navigate the world may cause me to be extra vigilant about people like her being targets of exclusion because of this difference. Van Maanen (2011) explains that "culture is not itself visible, but is made visible only through its representation" (p. 3). As an ethnographer, I use texts as inscriptions of culture as cultural artifacts for my analysis. I worked toward using a *theoretical* analysis

rather than an *interpretive* analysis when I focused on using theory to tell the stories, rather than to code for repeated themes from the interviews. I discuss this analytic process in more detail in later sections.

In using feminist theory to challenge authority, I had to be mindful of my subjectivities, my blindnesses to my privileged positions, and my motives for how and why I conduct my research. Because ethnographic fieldwork often means "living with and living like those who are studied," (Van Maanen, 2011, p. 2), one way to mitigate the power differentials of authority is to choose a topic with collaborative intention, as Ulrika Dahl (2010) did when she included participants as coproducers of research. I feel like a coproducer of this research because I had been piloting a Food Studies curriculum in 2013 with many of the same people I interviewed. In a way, this research was a continuation of that work we had begun years ago. Collaboration with these people will likely continue. Bruxvoort (2018) explains how being inside of a farming community while also being outside of it as a theoretician and academic creates unique opportunities. Her neighbors' familiarity with her helps them to be more willing to hear her perspectives to create possibilities for thinking differently about agricultural models, creating an opening for adopting more sustainable agricultural practices. Like Bruxvoort I am inside and outside of this farming community and university partnership: inside as a member of the Local Foods Coalition and beekeeper who had worked with some of the farmers, inside as an academic researcher interviewing colleagues with whom I had co-produced curriculum, and also

outside as a doctoral student from a faraway university, using theories to analyze their daily lives.

I have not answered the questions I posed above, about why I chose to return to this town for my fieldwork, answers which are fundamental to the reflexivity story. While I was there and in the months after, I wrote poetry to answer the question for myself. Some of the answer has to do with unfinished business: I wanted to see through a project I had begun, the 2013 Empowering People Through Food class which my former student Reyes helped me develop. I had wanted to return to a place I called home, and with the ending of my doctoral journey on the horizon, I wanted to see if I could remake a home in that space which had been so nurturing to me. Perhaps I wanted closure. I also wanted to see old friends and beautiful places during a beautiful time of year, to celebrate the harvest, to celebrate my growth and development.

I am still looking for home. I am in a space of transition: the ending of graduate school and the beginning of the rest of my life. When I return to Boone, NC, my dear friend says "welcome home." This part of North Carolina is very hospitable; I felt at home within a week of arriving, made good friends quickly, and people here still care about me. It is also a university town, so there is the dynamism of people coming in with hopes of being transformed by the experience, but leaving in a few years. It is a transition-based economy. The college town in my study has that vibe too. It is difficult and easy to put down roots here. It is difficult and easy to be blown away by the wind.

Perhaps I needed to say goodbye. This place was *my* place for a long time, and then I realized I was not getting my needs met and took steps to create a new place for myself where I might better get my needs met. I willingly gave consent to be in a relationship with SSU, with its community, and when I realized that the university was not going to keep its promises, I withdrew my consent. In a sense I respect myself too much to work there now. I do not trust the university and those who have continued to work there. And yet there are new people, people whom I should listen to. And the old people are also new people, changed by the new circumstances.

By choosing to return to this town for my research, I was also able to return to musical friendships, to make music with old friends. One song we play is called "Forgive this town" by Dana Louise and the Glorious Birds. I have come to realize that forgiveness is different from reconciliation: forgiveness is one-way, a giving up on whether the other party recognizes the hurt caused. Reconciliation seeks understanding, acknowledgement, justice and a renewed commitment to the relationship. Forgiveness is walking away from the pain; reconciliation is correcting the problem and making efforts to ensure that it does not happen again.

It certainly is a beautiful place to write. One of the things I loved about living there is the clarity of thought. Life moves at a slower pace, and I could hear myself think. It is so quiet there at night that I could hear my heartbeat as I drifted off to sleep. Maybe I return every fall to write, to be in the slant of an autumn sunbeam, to feel the warm days and cold

nights. I love that town like a song that gets stuck in my head, which takes me back to a place and time, staring up at the Milky Way while floating in a hot spring with mountains surrounding me like a cradle.

Critical awareness of the politics of difference. Another key element of feminist methodology is a concern for women and their challenges navigating a world designed by and for men which only *accommodates* (awkwardly, if at all) the *other* of women, or any *non-men* including those whose gender expression is non-binary (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002). Once one realizes that the boundaries of difference related to gender are in fact fuzzy, one also sees that all binary categorization, whether based on race, class, gender, ideology, or any other difference category, becomes problematic. One risk that western feminists face is overgeneralization of those who are different. Ramazanoglu & Holland (2002) describe Chandra Mohanty's (1988) characterization of how white privileged researchers of the western tradition

> constituted 'third world women' as a unified, stable category of analysis. This category comes from the vantage point of the political interests of western feminists, and establishes "third world women" as uniformly oppressed and powerless, thus leaving western feminists as the true subjects of feminist history. (Mohanty, 1988, p. 79 as cited in Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002, p. 80)

I am practicing feminist research methodologies when I again engage in reflexivity to consider how power may work within my assumptions of categorization, and how that power

works to privilege myself and those like me. Otherness is a seemingly insurmountable challenge, and yet in order to do the work, one has to use language to describe self and not-self and create categories for analysis. Again, while working in a critical paradigm I work with my flawed inherited tools of language to create knowledge which adds to understanding, by acknowledging difference, how it is created through language, and how power functions through these structures.

Decisions I made about organizing the data from my fieldwork illustrate this challenge of representation and risk of othering. I struggled with describing traits (e.g., race, age) about the interviewees, worried that I was imposing upon them classifications they would not themselves self-identify. I made a spreadsheet to organize my list of interviewees, their role on campus or in the farming community, a description of their traits, key concepts from their interview, and a link to their audio recording. I was working with a colleague who was helping me organize my data, and she insisted that I include demographic descriptions of my interviewees, such as their ethnicity, gender, age, and other traits which might be relevant to analysis. I had worked with most of the interviewees over several years, so I felt confident that I could assign the "correct" gender for them, for example (although I acknowledge that gender is not a binary). However, I became uncomfortable as I realized I was guessing ethnicity without having explicitly asked the interviewee to tell me these personal details, some of which, like race/ethnicity, are problematic as categorizations. For example, some of the people in that region whom I might classify as Hispanic because they have a Hispanic sounding last name, self-identify as "Spanish," meaning they see themselves as European

Americans whose great great grandparents arrived from Spain in the 1500s (nevermind that there were only a handful of women who accompanied the *conquistadors*, so it is likely that their great great grandmothers were Indigenous women). Indeed there are fair skinned people in the area, with red hair and blue eyes, who have Hispanic surnames and trace their ancestry in the region back for ten generations. There is also a difficult history of Hispanic people being punished for speaking Spanish at the local schools a generation ago, so when they became parents they made sure that their children did not speak Spanish in the home, leading to a generation of young people whose parents were trying to protect them with this discouragement. I also risked attributing someone's ethnicity based on a surname acquired through marriage, a non-Hispanic woman becoming a "Martinez" for example by marrying a person with that last name.

I found myself uncomfortably guessing peoples' ages and describing a person as an "out lesbian" in order to establish categories of difference which might turn out to be relevant for analysis. I do not know a resolution to this discomfort because the act of asking someone to disclose their identity markers seemed even more intrusive and distracting from the substance of our interviews focused on the process of curriculum development. Would an interviewee shut down if she thought I was noting "here's what the *African-American lady* has to say about curriculum"? I certainly would be put off were I the one being interviewed and someone drew attention to my gender or ethnicity, or if I saw the researcher write down a guess of my age. Why did I think it might be necessary to distinguish that a lesbian person was "out"? I was anticipating that she may have experienced exclusion due to her

orientation, and I could not rule out at that early stage of analysis if sexual orientation and brazen confidence in living as she is might be a factor to which I needed to pay attention. I wanted for the only subjectivities which were important to be the ones related specifically to roles on campus or in the community, that a person was a biology professor, rather than that a person was a biology professor who appears to be White, female, and maybe in her early fifties (safer to guess mid-forties?). My desire for role subjectivity to count more than the unchangeable traits of skin color or age are based on *power* and reflect the ideal of meritocracy we hope is in effect in our lives; however, many of our lived experiences tell us otherwise, that there are unchangeable traits about ourselves which count to other people and affect how we interact, how some people are treated differently because of these differences. My choice to focus on the politics of difference meant that I needed strategies to pay attention to whether or not people of certain groupings (non-White, non-male, non-wealthy, non-?) were being included or excluded in the process, even if it was uncomfortable.

In order to resist chauvinism and absence of reflexivity while purporting to exemplify it, I interrogated my subjectivities and motives for creating knowledge while at the same time asserting my legitimacy as a researcher and the validity of my claims. I interrogated my subjectivities by considering how my roles at the university when I worked there from 2006-2015 made me an insider in curriculum development: I had been active with developing the curriculum not only for the developmental education courses in my program, but had assisted others in developing curriculum to include service learning as part of my role as AmeriCorps coordinator. I helped develop curriculum for the Search and Rescue service learning course,

the Green Home Design course, a precursor to the Food Studies courses titled Empowering People Through Food, and numerous other service learning courses with faculty from Art, Music, Sociology, Counselor Education, Teacher Education, and Nursing. I was also an outsider in the curriculum development process because I was no longer employed by that university and was instead a doctoral candidate researching the curriculum development process they were now using, a process different from that which was in effect prior to 2015. This new process was also under a new university president who seemed to be systematically excluding faculty from meaningfully participating in the process by not inviting them to sit on the Food Studies curriculum committee. Instead they served on a faculty advisory committee for the project, a step removed from the activity of developing the curriculum, which was done by an outside contractor paid through adjunct funds.

Interrogating my motives for this project led me to consider how I leapt at this opportunity to return to a university and community close to my heart. I had never intended to leave that university to attend graduate school. My then-supervisor and I worked to arrange for me to take a leave of absence for the time that I would need to be away for my doctoral coursework and that I would return to the university after coursework was completed to write a dissertation that would be in service to the university's mission. That plan was derailed when the division I had been working in was reorganized in summer of 2015, eliminating both my supervisor's position and mine, nullifying the agreements we had made for my leave of absence. A summer decision process excluded faculty from being able

to meaningfully participate in the decision making and also explains why many of the people I interviewed thought I was still an employee.

I must also acknowledge that although I would like for my insider and outsider subjectivities to be the only ones that matter, I must concede that other traits such as my light skin, my ability to pass as a White person, my class-marking style of speech and education level, my genial personality, my gender conformity, my apparent absence of disability, and my citizenship status were probably more relevant that I would like them to be when it came to accessing my interviewees.

Was I too close to the subject matter to be "objective"? I considered that my eagerness to return to this place could possibly be a blind spot for me, that I might have motives of revenge or ridicule, wanting to expose the university's processes in a way that would embarrass or shame them. After all, I was conducting my research at an institution which eliminated my former department and position. I cannot say for absolute certain that these motives did not inform my decision, but I can say that I made efforts to protect the university's identity as well as the identities of all interviewees by using pseudonyms consistently. I also carefully monitored my social media use during fieldwork to not post anything situating me at that institution, which was something I learned from a previous research project where I had been so struck by a fieldwork location that I posted a selfie of myself in front of a beautiful academic building. And more importantly, my motive to describe the curriculum development process is solutions-oriented: I see no benefit in

describing a problem simply to ridicule those who perpetrate and are hurt by the problem. Instead, my aim was to describe the situation to better understand what processes are at play, especially related to identifying how power structures were functioning. I believe my closeness to the subject matter and community made me more sympathetic to all of the interviewees. My experiences in higher education administration and community non-profit administration produce empathy for those who were making difficult budgetary decisions, working with limited resources, and trying to build a degree plan which would help the community and the university.

An additional consideration related to difference is: Whom to cite? Regarding the politics of citation in a feminist project, one cannot help but cite the classic scholars of the field, who are often from privileged categories. However, there are many other voices, and many power structures even in the choices of whom else to cite. Sara Ahmed (2015) intentionally excluded white men from citation in her work. The academy is a roiling cauldron of privileged people unaware of their privilege, arguing, "speaking for" (Alcoff, 2000) the liberation of others, and yet ignoring the humans who clean their offices and grow their food. It is as if academic researchers are saying "our discourses are superior to theirs because we are the thoughtful enlightened ones."

Deep care for ethics. Of course, all research projects conducted through an institution of higher education must meet ethical considerations set forth by Institutional

Review Boards for research with human subjects, federal law, and any discipline-specific ethical guidelines. However, feminist authors Miller & Boulton (2007) suggest that

> there has recently been a fundamental shift from seeing ethics mainly as moral discourse (based largely on ideas about what researchers *ought* to do, and on their own values and integrity) to a discourse of regulations (where those with power over researchers' activities also seek to control and judge what they do in advance)" (as cited in Bell, 2014, p. 77).

Especially because I am considering power structures in narratives of inclusion and exclusion, I expected that I would encounter narratives which meet the letter of the law in terms of *allowing* for inclusion as well as contesting narratives of lived experience which detail instances of exclusion. I use the feminist theory tool of naming paternalism to navigate these instances of exclusion, to name processes which amass power in part by remaining unnamed.

A practitioner of feminist research methodologies considers ethical aspects beyond those prescribed by IRB or other regulatory frameworks, taking into consideration feminist theory related to an ethics of care: "A feminist ethics of care is a model that emphasizes responsibility and caring relationships rather than more abstract ideas about rights, justice, virtues, or outcomes" (Bell, 2014, p. 80). My research project is based in my community, and the relationships I have fostered with my neighbors, friends and family must withstand the stresses a research project may inflict. I worked to continue to nurture these relationships

as these others share their stories with me, and I with them. I also considered that much of food production is done by vulnerable people who are not immediately in my "community" of neighbors and close friends. As I engaged with collecting stories of undocumented people, for example, I was mindful of what the research might do that may damage, expose, or otherwise hurt these people whose circumstances and identities are different from mine. For example, interviewees disclosed information about undocumented members of the community, but I chose not to pursue interviews with any of these individuals for two reasons: 1) They were not included on the Food Studies committees, and 2) the risk of exposure was too high to justify. It is also unfortunate that SSU did not include their important perspectives on Food and Agricultural education.

Bell (2014) describes key aspects of ethical practice as follows:

> Key aspects of ethical practice feminist researchers focus on are: (1) Do no harm (beneficence); (2) confidentiality, privacy, and anonymity; (3) informed consent; (4) disclosure and potential for deception (e.g. relating to overt or covert research practices); (5) power between researcher and subject; (6) representation or ownership of research findings; (7) ensuring respect for human dignity, self-determination, and justice, including safeguards to protect the rights of vulnerable subjects; (8) demonstrating that the researchers engaged with the above six issues, in order to obtain required formal ethics approval and/or show adherence to professional codes/guidelines. (p. 80)

I connect ethical practice with naming paternalism because many of the power structures that I observed in the field seemed to return to this concept: that people making decisions *for* others without *including* those others was a fundamental function in the interactions of the Food Studies committee, faculty serving on the advisory committee and the administrators who initiated the curriculum project. Specifically in regards to item 7 above, to ensure respect for the human dignity, self-determination and justice of the subjects, I needed to regard how they were experiencing an absence of those qualities and what the name for that type of decision-making would be: paternalism. When I saw a person not being treated with dignity, I looked for people acting with paternalism. In chapter two I defined paternalism to mean "the policy or practice on the part of people in positions of authority of restricting the freedom and responsibilities of those subordinate to them in the subordinates' supposed best interest" ("paternalism | Definition of paternalism in English by Oxford Dictionaries," n.d.) Other dictionary definitions make more explicit the meaning of its Latin root *pater*, father, to emphasize the "father knows best" quality of declaring what will be in others' best interests, "in the manner of a father dealing benevolently and often intrusively with his children [such as when] employees object to the *paternalism* of the old president" ("paternalism | Definition of paternalism in Dictionary.com," n.d.) . Clearly there can be a gendered component to the term, but in practice it can be used to describe decision-making behavior between faculty and student, employer and employee, or administrator and faculty, when the person in the more powerful role makes decisions for the other, without adequate input or consideration of the other's needs, desires and goals. There were times when the

paternalism was more obvious, such as when Hispanic faculty and farmers were excluded from meaningful participation on these committees. There were other circumstances in which it was not clear why initially a program was seen to be unworkable, requiring me to ask more questions to get at why an interviewee held such beliefs.

This section on feminist methodology is meant to illustrate how feminist theory informed my research design through considerations of the following elements: challenging authority, analyzing power structures and their reproduction, and naming paternalism. A feminist methodological focus on reflexivity, the politics of difference, and deep care for ethics also served this project well by giving me tools to address reproducing inequalities in higher education. The tools also enabled me to examine how practices of inclusion and exclusion of stakeholders during the curriculum development process reproduce inherited privilege. Beyond feminist methodology, I must also make the case for ethnography, and specifically feminist ethnography, as useful for this type of study.

Ethnography

Ethnography is "writing culture" (Narayan, 2012, p. 2) based on sustained intentional connection with the lives of others. It is also sometimes described as participant observation (Frankham & MacRae, 2011). Because of my unique subject position within this community, as a beekeeper and local food activist who also worked at the university, my lived experience and continued connection to the Food Studies work in that community made ethnography a good fit for the type of project I wanted to do. As a beekeeper, I had worked

with several of the farmers I would later interview, keeping bees on their fields and discussing pesticides and other issues important to us as agricultural workers. My beekeeping is what lead me to consider how interconnected our food system is, as I was troubleshooting the disturbing mass die-offs of bees. As I questioned agricultural practices, I met more people in the region who were also questioning these practices, and eventually we formalized a non-profit Local Foods Coalition to advocate for more sustainable agricultural practices, including encouraging more people to produce and consume locally produced foods. When I considered different methodologies, I knew that I wanted something which would enable me to dive deeply into the subject with the people with whom I had already been building knowledge. The writing adage "write what you know" came to life with the possibility of interviewing these colleagues formally for my dissertation project, also enabling me to use my dissertation to further our work on supporting local food system development.

What makes ethnography different from plain storytelling is the weaving in of theory in the telling, the researcher "tack[ing] between theory and experience and the writing of those things in ways which open up new questions about the self, responses to the data and the theoretical resources brought to bear" (Frankham & MacRae, 2011, p. 35). As an ethnographer, I placed myself in the middle of the flurry of life in the field, sought out every event or meeting related to Food Studies, set up formal interviews with key stakeholders which I audio-recorded and noted, wrote post-interview reflections to record contextual impressions, facial expressions and pauses, and then spent months unpacking and

interpreting what I collected, using feminist theory as a critical tool. Concepts emerged such as *branding*, around which data cohered until I could tell a story about the concept using the stories which had been shared with me, woven with theoretical insights.

Ethnographic Methods

Since I only spent seven weeks in the field for this study, I need to give context to the quality of interviews and observations I was able to perform in that brief time, being based on deep relationships I had cultivated over the decade prior. In this section, I describe five of the extended conversations I had which led to the concepts which emerged for my analysis chapters. In this methodological paradigm, the data are not the interviews themselves; instead my theoretical tales are the data, the inscribing rather than describing that Van Maanan (2011) defines to be the nature of ethnography.

According to Stang (2013) ethnography can look like a "material cultural analysis," (as cited in Somerville, p. 73) as in Stang's and Somerville's work with writing ethnographies of water, examining how people relate to water in different countries and contexts. Somerville (2013) suggests that to write a literature review of water requires making a shape to contain the ideas of water. She uses ethnography to connect the local and global in knowledge frameworks. I knew that my task in this project would be to explain local food activists wanting a curriculum that would explain economic paradigms of local food versus globalized food, and I looked to Somerville's interpretation of ethnography as a guide, in order to make a shape to contain these ideas. Somerville also describes the mutual

entanglement of ethnographic researchers and their subjects, the exchanges between indigenous people and their colonizers that incorporates each other into both. This intermingling is of knowledges and of DNA. She writes, "all of the material qualities of a place, including the shapes of the land, are mutually shaped by human actions, including their representational process" (Somerville, 2013, p. 16). The representational choices of ethnography modeled by Somerville paired with the theoretical analysis from Jackson & Mazzei's (2012) feminist methodology creates a type of ethnography which is less focused on describing and interpreting a culture rather than telling stories of the entanglements of characters and motives and places and things in a setting, making sense of them through a theoretical musing, a theoretical analysis of cultures versus an interpretive analysis.

Kirin Narayan's (2012) *Alive in the writing: Crafting ethnography in the company of Chekov* offers another take on what ethnography may look like. Her book teases through the different genres of anthropological ethnography, memoir, travel writing and other non-fiction narrative writings. She writes that "ethnography" as a term appears with the development of social sciences in the nineteenth century as a formalized way of

> writing culture, [b]ut travelers, missionaries and colonial officers had also been writing about other cultures, and ethnography was from its very inception torn between contrary impulses: to present empirical observations gathered through specific methods and processed with theory, or to appeal to readers' imaginations with colorful stories (p. 2).

The contrary impulses echo the epistemological problems of interpretivist analysis versus theoretical analysis, the audacity of a scientific interrogation based on a White supremacist colonial project representing any sort of valid interpretation of a monolithic cultural phenomenon versus colorful stories contextualized with the writer's voice, guiding a reader to make her own interpretations at the threshold of understanding, standing beside the writer as guide offering theoretical insight and context. Thus, in this ethnography, I owe you, my reader, some stories to explain how I as a researcher in my sometime hometown was both inside and outside of these entanglements, how deeply I related to the individuals I interviewed prior to these short weeks of field work, in order to give you enough information to decide for yourself if I speak with authority on these topics and if my theoretical analyses make sense given what I saw, who I listened to, and how I thought about it.

Tessa (pseudonym). For instance, Tessa' interview itself was initially a disappointment to me in that I had emailed her asking for an hour of her time to conduct the interview at her convenience, attaching the interview questions to the email (found in Appendix C), and she replied with a list of brief answers to my questions, saying she would not have time. Tessa is a grass-fed beef rancher, grandmother, poet and local food activist who was thrilled with the new president's project to develop the Food Studies major. Instead of replying with suggested dates and times, she had typed up answers to the questions in a reply email I found in my inbox first thing the next morning—she must have completed the task in the hours between my sending the email to her at 5 pm and 1 am. It felt so cold and indifferent, given the many conversations we had had over the years about food systems,

many of them around her big kitchen table at her farm and around my (smaller) table in my home where we held the Local Foods Coalition board meetings (the same home I would sell at a loss when my university job was eliminated a few months later). When I first put beehives on her ranch, her adult son who had been struggling with addiction took to his new role as beekeeper. She noted how the energy of the bees changed him, bringing a peace she never thought she would see again. She and I were founding board members of the Local Foods Coalition, serving as president of the organization consecutively. She and I were co-plaintiffs in the lawsuit which resulted in the purchase of the Farm Park, resulting in a lifelong bond I feel towards her and the others of us who stood up to a developer who disparaged our agricultural project, calling us "hippie women who didn't know anything about farming." But as I mined my memories further, I remembered the summer of 2012 when I left the region for four weeks to attend the Kellogg Institute at Appalachian State University, taking the first graduate courses which would lead to my enrolling as a full-time doctoral student. When I returned, she hugged me a little too tightly and whispered in my ear "never leave us again," an imperative sentence which still haunts me, as even then I knew it was likely I would have to leave again.

Despite the cool response to my academic project, I saw Tessa at several events in those seven weeks. I attended a chicken policy meeting in her home where a group of us discussed what small-scale chicken farmers in the region needed in order to be successful (Should we advocate for a local USDA processor, or develop a state-level certification process? How large of an operation qualifies as "small scale"?) to give recommendations for

the state agriculture committee policy which was being drafted. Her husband gave the keynote speech at a Veterans in Farming dinner I attended, describing the parable I had by then heard many times of the three brothers, three steers which were sold in three different economic paradigms and their multiplier impacts on the local economy given the degree to which they were sold directly to consumers rather than via the commodity agriculture system. She was one of the chefs for the Soil Health conference Farm to Table dinner, so I could see her busily shuttling platters of delicious food from kitchen to buffet, wearing one of her signature bespoke aprons made by a local seamstress. I have a similar bee-themed apron.

My absence and returned presence were perhaps painful to those who had considered me family, and perhaps they even considered it a betrayal that I had left. Concepts such as extraction grew into being relevant for my analysis—certainly extraction as an economic paradigm, but also my self-extraction from this community for my own self-preservation, for fulfilling my own aspirations which could not be met by staying. How could I make my dissertation work become regenerative, like the regenerative soil health work to which Tessa and others committed their lives? Was I focused too much on my own personal branding through self-aggrandizing, individually singling myself out through my scholarship, and denying my generic role in this interconnected ecosystem? How far could the non-family bonds of our family-like connection stretch before breaking or losing their original form and transforming into something else? These concepts of extraction, regeneration, branding, and family-like bonds seeded my analysis.

Elle (pseudonym). A second example of the deep contexts of the interviews is in my interactions with Elle, the executive director of the Local Foods Coalition. My dissertation committee wisely talked me out of asking my interviewees to cook their version of local food for me. I like to eat and had no income, so it seemed like a good idea to me at the time, but in retrospect, I understand that a doctoral student judging your kitchen and food choices might have a chilling effect on interviewee participation. However, Elle had already planned on cooking for me, so I got to enjoy an evening of home cooked food with her family. Elle is a single mom, who presently lives with her foster son Antonio, a high school junior and excellent athlete. I arrived at her home 60 miles outside of town about six pm, in time to assist her with meal prep. She began by showing me photographs in her dining room of her mother and grandmother, women whose presence graced us the rest of the evening through her stories about becoming a young woman and learning to cook for her family. She cooked for me her first "grown up" recipe and shared the stories of who she was at the time, who she saw herself becoming, and how she thinks about food and family now. Soon Tonio arrived home from football practice with his teammate. They were starving of course, so we dove into the tuna salad and tomato. Tonio and his mom were negotiating his getting a vaping pen as a reward for better effort in his writing class; he showed me the bubblegum flavored smoke puffing from the device.

This was not Elle's and my first meeting during fieldwork. Elle was the person who sparked the idea of investigating the emergence of the Food Studies program at SSU when she emailed me the request from the president forming the Food Studies committee, asking

my input. Over the months leading up to fieldwork, we corresponded several times, her forwarding me emails and documents. She was one of the first people I reached out to when I got into town, and she set me up in the Local Foods Coalition office photocopying her meeting notes from the previous two years. She let me interrupt her throughout the day, asking for clarification from her notes, sketching out what was to become the outline for chapter 5, the Meeting before the Meeting, since she had been involved with all of the preceding committees such as the OEDIT economic development initiative, the value-added agriculture committee and the regional branding sub-committee, seeding my ideas for analysis about branding, meetings, gentrification, relocalization and what I would later recognize as the intersections of racism, sexism and capitalism, which I analyzed through feminist theory and neoliberalism. She also shared stories which upset her about the process, which led to my concept of withdrawing consent and the necessity for relationships to allow for individuals within them to set their own terms for participating. A story she shared was that one of the Spanish-speaking Guatemalan farmers at the Farm Park who also worked as cleaning staff at the hospital declined to give a speech in English at a meeting with potential funders, saying that she could not get the time off from work. The director of the Farm Park spoke directly to the president of the hospital who gave Lupita (pseudonym) paid time off for the event, effectively forcing her to give the speech. That did not sit right with Elle, and she shared the story as a stream of consciousness "something that's been bothering me but I can't put my finger on it" story in passing during our dinner. Only later, after months of reflection did I see this story, in the context of other stories of people being manipulated through their

passions (see Chapter 6 Commodifying Passion) as the seed for my thinking on paternalism and exploitation through commodifying passions. When I left Elle's home after dinner, about 11 pm, the nearly full moon was high in the sky. Farmers were harvesting alfalfa by the bright lights on their combines. Alfalfa is a thirsty cash crop, and the high protein content of the alfalfa produced in this alpine desert region commands a high price. Some of it feeds fancy Thoroughbred racehorses on million dollar ranches in Texas. Tessa says it is like exporting water to grow this thirsty crop in the desert like this, exploiting nature's way of concentrating nutrients under harsh conditions.

Farmers' Market. Elle had asked me to help her out at the farmers' market that weekend. The Local Foods Coalition owns a Mobile Kitchen modified minibus, or MoKi, which they use to serve tastes of local foods prepared as recipes from a locally harvested product that is also sold that day at the market. It was early October so pumpkins were abundant, and we gathered ingredients to make a curried pumpkin soup with corn bread and roasted *pepitas* (pumpkin seeds). She had blue cornmeal she acquired from a regional Native American brand, and we bought pumpkins from a local Hispanic farmer who would also be selling them on Saturday just a few stalls from us. The farmers' market is a site for stretching concepts as well: the MoKi activities are funded by grant funds meant to encourage healthy eating and including more vegetables in the diet. As such, no one is charged for the small 1 ounce taste of the recipe. However, over the years criticism about these freebies undercutting other vendors' ability to sell their prepared foods as well as the general criticism (echoed by the developer in the lawsuit about the Farm Park) about non-

profits not being viable business entities caused the MoKi model to shift a little bit, towards offering the free tastes but also requesting a $5 donation for a full bowl of the soup plus a side of the cornbread, making it more of a meal.

On that particular Saturday, Elle and I were serving up our tastes and bowls in the cool morning sun. A little dark-eyed girl, perhaps 5 years old, wandered over from a nearby stall and asked politely for a piece of cornbread. I agonized over my response, which was to tell her she could have a taste of the soup for free but would need to pay $5 in order to have some cornbread. She nodded and quietly walked back to her parents' stall. At the end of the day, I brought the rest of the pan of cornbread to give her, but the agony of my response remained. I knew the spirit of the MoKi project was to encourage people to taste the food and that I did not need to cover the costs of the production of the food or the volunteer labor that Elle and I were donating. I also felt the chip on my shoulder about undercutting farmers and other food businesses who were trying to make a living while I was giving food away for free. I still felt the gendered sting of the developer's comment about women not knowing how to farm, and by implication not knowing how to run a business. I felt pressure to show that we *did* know how to do these things. And yet the reptilian part of my brain knew, knows, that a hungry child asking for a piece of cornbread should not be told to bring $5 first. The intersection of these forces of capitalism, access, race and gender seeded my thinking on concepts of commodification of passion and what I called the Love Economy, the work that gets done whether money changes hands or not, the care work that characterizes much of the food economy and of education as well. It also seeded my thinking about the differences

between branded products being marketed by name versus the unbranded crops like pumpkins. It caused me to think about why Big Kale is not shaping the food system the way Big Pharma, Monsanto or Coca Cola does.

Stone Soup. That little girl was possibly also at the elementary school a week and a half earlier when I was a helper for the Stone Soup harvest program. The School Gardens Coordinator, who had been interviewed by the curriculum consultant but was not on the Food Studies committee, invited me to be the fire tender during the annual event which celebrates the work the children did in the gardens by reading a book by that name along with harvesting and cooking activities. I had done many activities with school children over the years, including bringing my beekeeping equipment to the fourth grade classroom for career day, teaching a pollinator unit during Garden Camp, and bringing an observation hive to the farmers' market so kids could identify the queen bee and her retinue. The Stone Soup story is a folktale about strangers coming to a town (in this version they are soldiers) who trick townspeople into sharing their food by cooking a magical soup made from a river stone. The soldiers tell the growing crowd around their big cauldron that the flavor would be even better with a few carrots, or a potato, and previously stingy townsfolk run home to return with ingredients to add to the soup, resulting in a big feast the town shares. For this annual Stone Soup event, each classroom had been responsible for tending a row of vegetables (carrots, potatoes, onions, etc), then they harvested them and practiced their (age-appropriate) knife skills to chop them into bits to add to the soup that week. The school invited local celebrities like the mayor to read the story to each class in the morning, then the kids came out to the

fire pit with their offering for the soup, each class throwing in a clean stone so there were a half dozen stones in the bottom of the pot. At lunchtime they all came out to have a bowl of the soup.

Concepts which emerged from this project and which seeded my analysis included the Love Economy concept of how communities have worked together to feed themselves, regardless of whether money changes hands, the basis of the relocalization movement central to the Local Food activists' motive for developing the Food Studies curriculum. Again, commodifying passions grew out of thinking about how I will feed a hungry child, whether the child has money to pay or not, whether or not I will be reimbursed or compensated for the time and energy to raise and cook the food I share with others. Stone Soup was a metaphor of bartering or cashless economies, resisting paternalistic colonialism including the colonization of financial systems. There is a human right to food which transcends the capitalist framework, and again I was reminded of the tension between charging for food and denying a child's request for wholesome food when I was literally staffing a booth trying to get children to eat more vegetables. I began to see myself and my work not as individually tied to me, the Karen Lemke brand, but as part of a much bigger process in history, succession within an ecosystem rather than succession within a species, my family name, my family's reputation or my personal "brand." I had drafted what would have been a fourth analysis chapter about this sort of post-human succession thinking, that our systems were causing us to innovate ourselves to obsolescence, in both our educational systems and our food systems.

The Park Bench. Adam (pseudonym), the student life director, and I had several conversations leading up to my fieldwork, during fieldwork and after. He was one of the first people I met when I moved to the region in 2006, and we had been friends through his hiring at the university, his growing family, construction and home improvement projects for our homes, late-night bonfires, working together on multiple grants, and our non-profit work in the community. He was president of the board for the non-profit homeless shelter, and we had had many conversations about the intersections of the local food system work and the work to prevent homelessness and to provide pathways to stability for those experiencing precarity. Adam and I had weekly phone calls from the time I started doctoral classes in 2015 through 2017, as he was trying to figure out how he might eventually work on a doctorate too while working full-time, raising his young family, farming and doing his community work. I knew that fieldwork in the region would mean continued conversations, and he was one of the first people I informally met with while setting up the rest of my field work interview strategy.

In the first week of what I had scheduled to be my time in the field, I was awaiting IRB ethics approval and could not technically begin interviews. In that time however, I explained my situation and was able to collect and review background documents which led to my understanding of the history of meetings and justifications for the program which came from reading through Elle's meeting notes and the university emails and documents that Adam provided. These documents created the structure of chapter 5, the Meeting before the Meeting. We also spoke around high-level concept ideas about what my project might

eventually produce. These conversations led to a blog post I wrote about the convenience of White people not seeing how White privilege works, resulting from extended conversations between us.

I remembered how when I interviewed for my faculty position at SSU, a realtor tour was part of the daylong agenda. Most White faculty at this institution buy houses north of the railroad tracks, in the middle class bungalows within a few blocks of campus, neighbored by rentals often owned by other university employees and rented to students. Several houses have fallen further down the disrepair spectrum and are chronically empty and even boarded up. Other faculty purchase McMansions in the tonier new construction neighborhoods just northwest of campus. Few live "south of the tracks" where a local business which regularly is broken into has had to chase out homeless people living there. The business signage permanently reads "Stop the Meth and Heroin." I concluded that it is possible for a White person to work in a majority minority community and not have to see race at all, other than in the quaint Spanish-word street names in new construction neighborhoods.

On a warm September afternoon Adam and I spent a few hours talking about higher education policy, non-profit board management, and local food. It was a Tuesday because our favorite *taqueria* was closed. I left my pick-up truck parked there, and we walked to a different restaurant and got take out which we took to the city park, just over the bridge from the Farm Park in downtown. Our conversation ranged from the particular (how to increase student involvement with harvesting the campus garden before the killing frost) to the abstract (the workings of what we started calling the Love Economy, the uncompensated yet

necessary work that people do above and beyond their job descriptions). This city park has a walking path around a central grassy field, and we chatted on that park bench while people walked the circuit.

Adam and I, like Tessa and I, had a feeling of being family and yet not-family. I was with him when his dog's collar got caught under a fence gate, and we took apart the fence together to free her, saving her life. I mentored him to catch bee swarms so someone else could take over that role when I left the region. I attended the naming ceremony for his baby, and taught his children how to harvest honey. He helped me figure my way out of more than one unhealthy relationship. And yet of course, I was not a member of his or Tessa' family. The year after my divorce Tessa invited me over for Christmas dinner, but in subsequent years that was time for "just family." Being a close friend and coworker with Adam meant we supported each other in many ways, but at the end of the day we both returned to our respective homes. In some ways I know that my leaving the region was a necessary self-extraction in order to fulfill my needs for employment and to expose myself to opportunities that would best use my talents. In some ways it felt like an adolescent struggle for me to have agency within my own life versus fulfilling the wishes that others had for me and for how I could fulfill their needs.

Concepts which emerged from the park bench conversation included how decentering is about relinquishing one's focus on one's personal brand in order to be receptive to someone else being centered and taking credit, even when one feels they deserve to be recognized. Conversations with Adam and another male interviewee (Carl, the food service

director) made me notice how their style of telling stories centered themselves, such as "this is *my* campus garden project" rather than focusing on the project's collaborative nature, diffusing ownership away from one's personal brand. I recognized this as a gendered concept in that women tended to give credit broadly for project successes, and in some instances even downplay their contributions so as not to be perceived as tooting their own horn. Adam's focus on branding the garden as *his* manifested in other ways: he pointed out how this locked garden was specifically designated as a student project, not like the other garden beds on campus maintained by the SSU EARTH club as a community-oriented garden. This paternalistic control and brand-oriented thinking extended to other situations, such as another discussion that week about how he might get rid of an employee that was not enhancing his brand, a Latina who spoke "wrong" and wrote "wrong" and whose work reports he had to "translate" in order to fit into his departmental voice. He concluded it would just be easier to have her gone. There was the tension between wanting students to have a positive agricultural experience versus owning more of the outcome, even if negative, such as crop failure due to students forgetting to water. There was a tension between inclusivity of diverse perspectives, people and expressions versus controlling outcomes for efficiency and coherence. There was a tension between allowing for lots of possibilities of expression whether through plants or idiomatic preferences versus standardization which makes a job easier. These tensions seeded my conceptual analyses related to paternalism, inclusion, efficiency mindsets, diversity and branding.

I have included these several vignettes to show more context to how I participated in my interviewees' lives as they lived, visiting their homes, loving on their children, eating their food and providing an ear for the stories they themselves were trying to work out. I fit a surprising amount of activity into my seven weeks, but they felt like a continuation of work I had been doing and continue to do. There were several other quirky stories such as how I volunteered to be on-air during the public radio pledge drive and ended up being interviewed live for the next thirty minute segment about local food systems and the new program at the college. Since I was in the area, I got to meet with business partners about purchasing property adjacent to the Farm Park for future food businesses. One of my interviewees was teaching a graduate research methods course and invited me to speak to his students about my dissertation methodology and thinking with feminist theory. I sat in on a follow up meeting for a grant I had worked on which had closed out. I enjoyed a leisurely dinner with a retired philosophy professor and rancher whose land had been owned by his Hispanic family for 150 years. His neighbor, who taught high school math and music and who also managed the finances for an ecosystem protection non-profit, joined us. We discussed post-colonialism and education reform.

Methods and Data

Research Setting

Southwest State University (pseudonym) is a small rural public liberal arts college in the southwest United States. It is a federally-designated Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI),

meaning at least 25% of enrolled students are of Hispanic heritage. Like virtually all HSIs, SSU is also a Predominantly White Institution (PWI), meaning that although it serves a high percentage of Hispanic students and non-White students, almost all of the faculty are White. The university student body is the most diverse in the state, with 43% of the students identifying as Hispanic or non-White. The surrounding community is 51% Hispanic. The region includes some of the poorest counties in the United States, and beyond the university, the hospital, and the local school district, the largest source of income for residents is from government payments such as social security, disability, and farm support payments. Agricultural economist Ken Meter (2013) noted that farm support payments exceeded the net income from commodity payments in the region.

Many residents in this region identify themselves with this agricultural heritage, even as commodity farmers struggle to make money outright through their farming. For most U.S. farmers, farming ends up costing more than they bring in, with the USDA Economic Research Service projecting 2018 median farm income to be *negative* $1,316 (2018). As a beekeeper, I worked with several farmers to host hives on their fields, improving their pollination and giving my bees a source of nectar. Older farmers expressed concern about how the next generation would be able to make a living as farmers. There were also some farmers and ranchers who were experimenting with non-commodity farming, selling their foods through community supported agriculture subscriptions and farmers' markets instead of to a commodity buyer.

Beekeeping, however, was not my main gig. In 2006, I was hired by SSU to teach developmental reading and writing courses, and later I took on more administrative responsibilities as an AmeriCorps service learning coordinator and interim department chair for the developmental education department. I had worked at the university for almost a decade, with one of my responsibilities to train and support faculty for integrating service learning into the curriculum, working one-on-one with faculty, so I had had several conversations with faculty from across campus in their offices not unlike the semi-structured interviews of my fieldwork. In summer 2015, the university restructured my division, eliminating my position. My departure from campus occurred just as I was planning to start doctoral coursework, so my status at the university was perhaps in limbo to those whom I did not get a chance to bid farewell. Some people knew I was taking post-masters courses at some far-away university online and sometimes in the summers, and perhaps thought that was why they had not seen me recently.

I had interviewed SSU faculty for projects for my Ed.S. degree, so it was fairly normal for faculty to receive a request from me to set up an appointment to talk about pedagogy or curriculum development. Several people noted they had not seen me in a while, not realizing I no longer worked for the university. My university email address was still active. I was still receiving faculty listserv emails to that account. The decision to eliminate my department and consequently my position was made in the summertime, so many faculty had not realized what had transpired. The university administration fostered a culture of making those sorts of decisions out of view of faculty, without meaningful faculty input, and

without explaining new structures to returning faculty in the fall. I had witnessed it before in 2007 when my position and a handful of other full-time instructors were categorically declassified as "faculty" into a no-man's-land of "exempt" status, without clarification or justification. I had to accept that my department chair could not explain what happened or how, and we guessed that it meant I did not have representation through faculty senate, as I had before. I witnessed the summer decision-making again a few years later when senior administrators met over the summer to reclassify and promote themselves with salary increases and vice-presidential titles, again without faculty input or appeal process.

Participants

The people whom I interviewed were unguarded. I was almost taken aback by the frankness of some of their comments. The transition to a new university president and the university's probationary status from its accrediting agency created a sense of desperation and a willingness to talk about plans to either escape or revolt. Some of the faculty had discussed a vote of no confidence in the president, but were afraid of their names publicly being associated with such a move. Many faculty and staff had already left the university, and many more would leave in the months after my fieldwork when the full force of the austerity measures compelled by the accreditors were implemented as part of the university's effort to be removed from probationary status. Tenured faculty positions and whole departments were eliminated. The president also left the institution that following spring.

People met me for coffee or lunch, not as part of my formal interviews but to chat about my schooling and to catch up as friends. One told me he sent an email to his boss at 4:30 that morning, worried that he would not have a job. Others caught me up on their families and their gardens. Three women talked about leaving the men in their lives, a withdrawing of consent in relationships which were no longer serving their needs.

I chose participants for the formal interviews based on an email I received from the executive director of the Local Foods Coalition in February 2017, when she asked me for input on a new Food Studies committee the university president had invited her to join. This email was the seed for the dissertation project: the university was inviting farmers and ranchers to talk about developing a new major at the university, and I could study the process. I recognized all of the names cc'd on the initial email, the farmers who were to become the Food Studies committee. I contacted them as the primary participants and spanned out from there to other interviewees. The committee was composed of the university's Food Service director, an SSU Board of Trustee member who is also a rancher and potato farmer, and an adjunct art professor who also ranches and produces value-added products like sausage and milled wheat flour. There were two more farmers, an agronomist, and two employees from the Local Foods Coalition.

Through talking with these initial eight participants from the email, I also learned about an outside consultant assisting with the development of the curriculum, so I also reached out to interview her. She clued me in to a faculty advisory committee which also

advised on the process, so I interviewed all of them as well. The faculty advisory committee was composed of the Assistant Vice President for Academic Affairs, the biology department chair, the human performance and physical education department chair, an exercise science professor who took the chair's place when she quit the committee, the director of the agriculture business program, and a sociology professor. The director of student life was also invited to the faculty advisory committee because he was connected to local food producers, so I interviewed him as well.

My methods included requesting documents from committee members, as well as creating interview recordings, transcripts, and my impressionistic notes on the interviews. Most of the faculty interviews were conducted during their office hours in their offices, but the farmers were more difficult to catch as it was harvest season. One farmer met with me in a potato storage shed on his organic farm. I had to have my footwear sprayed with a prophylactic potato fungus agent when I arrived, so as not to introduce a pathogen which might harm the potatoes. There was a loud Clodhopper machine tumbling the potatoes to remove as much soil as possible before the potatoes "went to sleep" in the storage bin; the racket from the machine caused us to seek shelter away from the noise so we could conduct the interview. I left the interview with two 25 pound bags of potatoes which sustained me for most of the writing of this dissertation. He also invited me to return a week later to celebrate the end of harvest with the workers and their families, a delicious dinner he held every year. He introduced me to the whole group who shared some of their stories with

me while I held a newborn who might become a third generation potato farm worker harvesting these potatoes like her parents and grandparents before her.

The faculty I interviewed were very generous with their time and resources as well. They shared documents including emails, meeting agendas and notes, and university aspirational texts such as mission and vision statements. They caught me up on procedural processes which had changed since 2015, including that the president was piloting a new curriculum development process with this Food Studies project. One faculty member shared with me the results of a 2016 student and faculty/staff campus food security study as well as the curriculum written by the consultant, which included the degree plan and eight institutional syllabi for the new FOOD XXX courses. The degree plan included courses titled Freshman Seminar: Perspectives in Food; US Food System: Past, Present and Future; Community Food Systems: Farm to Fork and Beyond; Food Lab I; Food Lab II; Internship I; Internship II; and Capstone. These courses while similar are unrelated to the Empowering People Through Food course I developed in 2013.

I also attended the faculty senate meeting where the Food Studies curriculum was proposed, and two public meetings where the Food Studies curriculum was discussed. One meeting was an economic development brainstorming session, and the other was a guest speaker on campus discussing grass-fed beef global demand and the need for more U.S. producers. I recorded audio on my cell phone or through Zoom recordings on my iPad when wifi was available. These recordings are stored in my password protected university Google

Drive account and deleted from the devices. I did not code the interview transcripts because the concepts were emerging in real time and in my reflection time. Each day of an interview I audio-recorded the encounter while handwriting notes, and then in the afternoon I typed up those notes plus impressions while fresh in my mind, added interpretation, noting follow up questions, posing new questions, and figuring out where there were gaps. This initial recording of interviews and impressions was then followed by months of review, aided by a colleague who listened to the recordings, read the notes and reflected back to me more impressions. In this way, I was able to record initial impressions, collect emerging concepts then revisit the interviews to mine for those concepts elsewhere. Because I still had contact with my interviewees, I was also able to follow up with an interviewee to ask for help with the conceptual analysis. For example, it was months after I conducted the interviews when I realized that a comment about economic development and day laborers was still bothering me. I messaged with Adam, who was the person who made the comment, for a few days until we talked through the possible reasons for the phenomenon.

I emailed all interviewees the interview questions one week ahead of time, but generally I started with "How did the Food Studies program evolve?" and the conversation would follow its own logic, with follow up questions based on the responses of the interviewee. Because each interviewee had their own idea of what the Food Studies program meant, their varied responses gave me rich data to compare and analyze. The interview questions I emailed to them may be found in Appendix C. Again, they served as a starting

point, but interviewees took me in many more directions. The in-person interviews took place from mid-September through the end of October 2017.

Analysis and Representation

Van Maanen (2011) writes of the challenges of representation, description and interpretation, especially when one acknowledges the blurring between the knower and the known. The interpretations written by the ethnographer become interpretations of interpretations, and are complicated by what the informants believe is relevant to the researcher, by the context of the study, by accidental and intentional misrepresentation by both fieldworker and informant, and even by the presence of the observer (p. 95). Additionally, Narayan (2012) notes that ethnographers' and folklorists' telling of stories are actually retellings, and that "every retelling is but one version of a larger story" (p. 120).

I felt compelled to record as much information as I could and that I would sort it out later. After my seven weeks in the field, I went home to the Midwest to write and make sense of these notes. Jackson (2017) writes of "thinking without method" to describe starting in the middle of relations to develop concept analyses: I was "in the middle" of both data and theory, which was a fertile place to begin analysis. There were concepts which seemed to become lively, and as I write today I look at the large post-it sheets on my wall with terms like *regeneration versus extraction* and *credibility as commodity,* concepts that are vital to regenerative agriculture theory and feminist theory critiques of neoliberalism but also were embedded in the lived experiences of the participants. Jackson and Mazzei (2012) describe

an analytic method informed by theory in their book *Thinking with Theory in Qualitative Research*; the concepts which emerged grew out of my thinking with feminist theory rather than through traditional coding in interpretive qualitative research. I used my understanding of feminist theories to sort through concepts, and I watched the theories come to life and emerge into stories I could tell about the data. For example, there had been one poster sheet on which I wrote *withdrawal of consent*, but I could not bring myself to write about that which seemed too personal, a theme that I could not initially connect to the curriculum development. Using feminist concepts of women's labor being historically undervalued and the current events unfolding around #metoo, for example, enabled me to see that withdrawal of consent was more broadly related to having one's perspectives and needs disregarded or used in a way other than what one intended, what I later referred to as commodifying the needs, desires and goals of these stakeholders in Chapter 6. *Paternalistic colonialism* got papered over into a new timeline, but I used my feminist critique of neoliberalism so that paternalism and commodification became central to what shaped chapters 5 and 6. I attached several smaller colored post-it notes to each of the large white post-it walls, arranging and rearranging. There are still several notes which never found a home in this particular project.

Eventually the concepts on my post-it sheets and spreadsheets coalesced into what became the three analysis chapters here as chapters 4, 5 and 6. I changed the color of a cell in my spreadsheet when I included that information in a chapter, and about half of the cells are still uncolored. In total I conducted 25 recorded interviews, but in the analysis only used testimony from the eight Food Studies committee members, the six members of the faculty

advisory committee and the curriculum consultant because their views were most relevant for the curriculum development project.

What eventually emerged from the theory were three major concepts, which became the kernel for each of the three analysis chapters which follow. *Brand* (Chapter 4) was a concept that I heard used in several different ways: brand as in developing a regional brand to market local foods, brand as in a university protecting and advancing its brand to command more of a share in the higher education marketplace, brand as the patronymic last name of farm businesses, the father's name being passed down not only as a last name but as the name for the products produced, reinforcing traditional power structures. *The Meeting before the Meeting* (Chapter 5) was a concept which grew out of my curiosity about how much decision-making seemed to be happening before the formal meeting in which a topic would be discussed. Academicians are familiar with dreaded faculty meetings which seem to be a waste of time, and this chapter delved into how sometimes decisions are made outside of the formal process, which leads to that sense of futility. Because SSU faculty did not initiate the Food Studies curriculum, I needed to figure out who *did* initiate the program, who was included and who was excluded, and what shortcuts may have taken place to ensure a swift *efficient* process, revealing paternalistic and neoliberal efficiency mindsets undergirding the decision-making. Chapter 6 focuses on *commodifying passion* because I noted how frequently faculty talked about their passion for their disciplines and for supporting their students, and how this love for the work led to their exploitation.

These concept analyses created a way for me to say something new and different which is more than description. *Thinking with theory* allowed me to avoid the traps and limitations of interpretivism in qualitative research, such as the risk of overinscribing my narrow subjective view as a broadly generalizable interpretation of phenomenon. Instead, I used theory to play with the concepts, to pull them apart and squish them into new shapes, to try using them in novel ways. I brainstormed new ways to think about *branding*, to exhaustively use the term in new ways until something new revealed itself through the lens of feminist theory. This method allows for endless possibilities with the same data: I could come back to these same interviews and play with them using queer theory, for example, and develop new insights again.

Trustworthiness

Regarding trustworthiness, Glesne (2006) suggests several techniques including prolonged engagement with the field, triangulation, and member checking (p. 37-38) which I incorporated into this study. Counting the nine years of working in the research setting prior to fieldwork, the seven weeks of fieldwork and the continued interactions I have with some of the interviewees adds up to almost a decade of prolonged engagement with this particular issue in this particular setting. Triangulation is using multiple data sources or strategies (Esterberg, 2002). I triangulated each committee member's story with and against the stories collected from the others, noting discrepancies and confirmations, inclusions and exclusions. For example, when I was interviewing the consultant who had worked with the Food Studies

committee, she mentioned the faculty advisory committee, and I noticed that the two committees were not aware of each other but that she had done work with both of them. Her alerting me of the existence of the second committee answered my questions about why there were no tenured faculty on a committee formed to develop university curriculum. By interviewing everyone on both committees, I was able to discern that there were no non-White people on either of the committees, and that students were not included, nor were farmworkers. I also was able to compare what committee members thought the curriculum would be to the actual final product as presented by the curriculum consultant, two different sources of the same data.

Member checking is the process of sharing drafts of the final report with participants to confirm whether I had accurately represented them (Glesne, 2006). I was able to share a draft of the *brand* analysis chapter with the Local Foods Coalition executive director and to have a long conversation about the analysis, incorporating some corrections she suggested. I also shared a draft of *The Meeting before the Meeting* with the student life director who helped me with clarifying some content which became a footnote. The curriculum consultant was able to read the full dissertation draft, giving special attention to the third analysis chapter on *Commodifying Passion*. We then talked for three hours about the analysis, and she suggested some clarifications.

To summarize the Methods and Data section, I described Southwest State University and its context in a rural agricultural community, and how I as a beekeeper, food activist and

former faculty member at the university was well situated to research the process of Food Studies curriculum development. I was also well situated to research its practices of inclusion and exclusion to understand how inherited privileges reproduce themselves in these contexts. I described the participant interviewees who served on either a Food Studies committee of farmers recruited by the university to advise on the curriculum or served on a faculty advisory committee which advised on, but did not create, the curriculum. I provided insight into how I analyzed the interviews and other documents through feminist theory to identify concepts around which my analytical chapters cohered. I sought balance of not only the interviewees' different perspectives, but also their epistemological framings to offer assurances of trustworthiness for readers as we move into the analysis chapters.

Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the research design strategy, with a rationale for feminist methodology and ethnography as the design for this project. Reflexivity, the politics of difference, and a deep care for ethics address important feminist theory aspects of challenging authority, analyzing power structures and their reproduction, and naming paternalism. In the methods and data section I described the setting for this research and how I was positioned as a researcher in this context, how feminist ethnography made good use of my long time in the field as an insider and outsider within the university community and the food community. I described how I identified the Food Studies and faculty advisory committee members for interviewing as well as how I analyzed the data, accounting for

issues of trustworthiness. The next chapter begins a series of three analysis chapters addressing the three research questions.

Chapter 4: Brand: What's in a Name?

For this project, I returned to a university where I had previously taught, within a community where I had been active with the Local Food movement as the president of the board of the Local Foods Coalition. The purpose of this study is to critique how practices of inclusion and exclusion during the curriculum development process reproduce inherited privilege. Because of relationships I already had, I was able to access emails, meeting minutes, student survey data and even the 63 page report prepared by the curriculum consultant working on the Food Studies major, giving me data points to triangulate with the testimony shared by the interviewees. These interviewees include the following (pseudonyms): Carl, the university food service director; Elle, the executive director of the Local Food Coalition; Maureen, the assistant vice president of academic affairs; Nina, a researcher hired to develop Food Studies curriculum; Briana, the biology department chair; Ken, Tessa, Luis, and Burt who are local farmers/ranchers; Susan, a sociology professor; and Shelly, an agricultural business professor. I was also able to attend community events where the emerging major was described, and I attended a faculty senate meeting where the Food Studies major was presented as an initiative from the communities' food producers.

My goal in this chapter is to orient the reader to the contexts of this curriculum development process and to address my first research question (RQ1): *How do socio-cultural practices of inclusion and exclusion, among those developing the Food Studies program, function to support traditional power structures?* In this chapter I introduce the interviewees and how the discussion of a Food Studies major emerged. My analysis of the

texts and interviews lead to these conclusions: 1) Some regional food producers share a goal of developing a curriculum that would help new farm employees and consumers understand how buying food from a local farmer directly keeps more wealth in the local economy. Even if it costs more, this educated consumer would value the benefits of the direct market system and would purchase food accordingly. Consumers become "co-producers" with farmers because the way they spend their food dollars creates the food system. 2) Faculty on the advisory committee had partial or absent understanding of the producers' goals, but they had goals in supporting innovations which might help the university generate revenue and ensure the continuation of their respective departments.

In order to analyze the discussions of what would become the Food Studies program, I use one of the first concepts I encountered related to this project: *brand*. The concept of *brand* is useful to analyze these practices of inclusion and exclusion because *brand* as a capitalist concept frames people as *consumers* and thus as passive and consumption-oriented. Consumers' agency is limited to choosing among what is offered, which contrasts with the agency and self-determination of *producers*. I use *brand* to examine how the usual usage of brand is disrupted by the food producers' goal of resisting the commodification of local products, instead focusing on an entirely different economic paradigm than commodity agriculture. The inclusion of these local food producers meant the exclusion of other types of producers, as will be described below. Students in this context were framed as *consumers* passively receiving their education. Their subjectivity as *student-consumer* frames them not as human learners transforming into productive fully participating members of society but

crassly as tuition payers, a seemingly unlimited resource for extraction and exploitation by the university.

Brand

Linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1983) describes language as a system of signs, in which the relationship between the signifier and that which is being signified is arbitrary. A brand is an example of a signifier. A brand can signify a cattle ranch, for example. This representation however can be problematic because there is an imperfect relationship between what one intends to signify and how it is understood, which Jacques Derrida (1976) describes as slippage. For example, some people may consider *Mac and Cheese* to be the familiar bright orange childhood favorite Kraft Macaroni and Cheese; for others only Granny's homemade mac and cheese will do. Derrida would note that the signifier conjures a different meaning in each person's mind which is a slippage between signifier and signified. This fundamental challenge with language describing ideas is the foundation for structuralism. Structuralism invites us to pay attention to the structures of binaries which we use to differentiate ideas and things. One binary we have already encountered is that of consumer/producer. This binary can be troubled by considering that consumers may also be producers; as the Slow Food movement posits, food consumers are *co-producers* with farmers when they are in relationships which give the farmers feedback about what vegetables are desired to be planted for the next season (Craig, 2015).

Brands are essential to capitalism in that raw materials become unique branded products which are associated with the company which sells them. Branding creates stories

about these products and supports consumer assumptions about quality, consistency and reliability. However, branding within the context of neoliberal globalization created the transnational food conglomerates which are associated with every branded food you can imagine. Consolidation has occurred to such a degree that now virtually every branded value-added food product is owned by one of a handful of these companies as represented by Gauthier's (2012) graphic below.

Figure 4.1 Global Food Brands and Their Parent Organizations (Gautier, 2012)

In Gauthier's description of this graphic, he lists several interrelated problems with this phenomenon including dangerous consolidation of political power, and impacts on

health, the economy and the environment. Note that beyond food products, virtually all branded cleaning, healthcare, pet care and tobacco products, including many organics, are also owned by these companies. Much of our material lives are touched by these companies.

For this project I examine ways in which the interviewees framed this Food Studies program and the slippages that occurred. The commodity agriculture paradigm, represented by the graphic above, in a sense produced the need for Food Studies, as it is generally understood to be the critique of this globalized food system. Food Studies is an emerging interdisciplinary academic field with many origins (c.f. https://afhvs.wildapricot.org/History; http://www.food-culture.org/food-studies-links/; Etmanski, 2017; http://www.sustainableaged.org/)[3]. Barth (2018) characterizes it as part of a response to the so-called Green Revolution in agriculture after WWII, marked by usage of synthetic fertilizers and pesticides and a drive for efficiency. He goes on to describe the emergence of academic programs within land grant university agriculture colleges focused on "agroecology" in the 1980s. He notes that enrollment in these programs has grown while enrollment in traditional agriculture programs has been flat, perhaps because there are fewer farm operations being inherited by offspring due to consolidation of family farms into mega-

[3] This dissertation does not provide a definition of what Food Studies is. While this dissertation examines the development of a Food Studies program, my focus is on how my interviewees who are creating SSU's curriculum define Food Studies and the *tensions among their competing definitions*. Please see Appendix B for a listing of multi-disciplinary Food Studies programs as of 2018. Broadly, programs in this emerging field seem to be growing out of academic disciplines in Sustainable Development, Public Health, Landscape Architecture, Nutrition, and Agroecology frameworks and provide critiques of Conventional Agriculture and Food to account for ecological and social factors of food systems that conventional agriculture education may not address.

farms and young peoples' disinterest in the difficult work, low wages, and high risk of conventional commodity agriculture.

In my study, depending on who was talking about it, the definition of Food Studies varied, meaning something different to each person I interviewed. According to Carl, the University Food Service director, there is no standard meaning by which the committee members conceived the Food Studies program. He cynically noted that it seemed "the university was piecing together existing courses to package [them] as a new program." From this perspective, the university is attempting to add value to its product by repackaging it, creating a value-added product. The title *Food Studies* is itself a type of brand. In this sense the university was using the Food Studies program to enhance their university brand in order to attract students. However, creating a brand by merely repackaging existing courses does not necessarily address the needs articulated by the food producers, by students, or by faculty. This sort of superficial adding of value appropriates the value of the university's brand, its gravitas as an institution of higher education, its presumption of expertise of its faculty, and its role as a major economic driver in the region.

Entering the field. I spent the autumn months of 2017 interviewing people who were planning a new Food Studies major at Southwestern State University (pseudonym). I was drawn into this study through an email that I received on February 8, 2017, from Elle, the director of the Local Foods Coalition, who also became the first interviewee in my study. Elle was invited by the university president to participate on the Food Studies committee because she had been involved in many different economic development conversations in the

region. She emailed me to ask what I thought of the proposed Food Studies program and how she might prepare herself for this initial meeting. The non-profit organization that she directs is focused on economic development related to locally-produced food. Elle's role includes conducting needs assessment research to determine what farmers require in order to be successful in selling their foods locally rather than into the global commodity market. This research led to the development of a regional food hub for local farmers to aggregate their produce to make it easier for wholesale food purchasers like schools, hospitals and restaurants to access the quantities they need.

In multiple interviews, Elle described how a series of meetings based on regional economic development led to a focus on value-added agriculture and eventually discussions of developing a regional *brand* to set the region's products apart, much like *Ashe County Cheese* distinguishes itself in western North Carolina as a premium regional product, one that consumers might travel several miles to purchase, or for which consumers would be willing to pay a premium in supermarket chains. The term *value-added* in agriculture refers to agricultural products which have been processed locally to enhance their value, such as jam made from berries, or produce that has been washed, cut, and packaged; it can also describe organically raised products or regionally identified products. (Agricultural Marketing Resource Center, 2019). In these brainstorming meetings the local food producers (ranchers, farmers and value-added producers) relayed their need for employees who understand different aspects of branding related to Local Food.

The majority of producers in that region participate in the global commodity market, but producers invited to this committee are active in building the Local Food direct market model, and they are eager to make it easier for their neighbors to make the switch. Producers who sell their goods in the global commodity market focus on getting the plants or animals to the specifications required by the commodity buyer. Producers working without the commodity buyer need to do all that work and also the work the commodity buyer would have done such as marketing and relationship management with consumers. One of the benefits of working without the commodity system is that the farmer gets to keep more of the profit, rather than having to pay the commodity buyer for those services. Other benefits include fostering community resilience, creating jobs, reducing food-miles traveled, and mitigating food security risks. These non-commodity farmers get to keep more of the profit and have more control over their farming. The trade-off is that they now must do more specialized non-farming work or hire people with these skills.

Thus, what started as a discussion about branding led the producers to recognize a need for a workforce with skills to work in a different economic paradigm, one which is grounded in local identity rather than the anonymity of globalized commodity agriculture. According to Elle, this process was the kernel for the Food Studies major.

Historical context. In 2015, SSU was experiencing declining enrollment and the retirement of its president. The university hired a new president, Dr. Belinda Smith (pseudonym), who has a business background and experience with university-employer partnerships. Members of the business community were excited about President Smith's

innovative ideas for economic development using the agricultural heritage of the region as a central focus. However, agriculture does not necessarily support this region without significant federal inputs such as crop insurance, grazing allotment and conservation payments, which is true in US agriculture in general. The USDA Economic Research Service projects 2018 median farm income to be *negative* $1,316 (2018). In 2012, the Local Foods Coalition commissioned an agricultural economist to do a study of the region (Meter, 2013), and he noted that the globalized commodity agriculture paradigm is unsustainable for farmers because the costs to produce the food are greater than the receipts collected from its sale. His study focused on the difference between commodity agriculture markets which are globalized, and direct markets which are regional, and their associated impacts on regional economics. For instance, when potato farmers sell their potatoes through the global commodity system, the farmers get a smaller share of the profit than if they sell directly to local consumers. This more profitable and more sustainable direct market model would, however, require farmers to hire additional employees with different skill sets to build consumer relationships locally. These two paradigms, the global commodity market vs the direct-to-consumer market, require very different skills.

The farmers wanted the university to address these needs by providing courses in which students develop skills such as regional branding, relationship management with restaurateurs and institutional buyers, and consumer education. This request represents a worldview about the proposed Food Studies program anchored in the direct market paradigm, but as the interviews revealed, there are competing paradigms at play, some of

which are rooted instead in the globalized commodity agriculture system. While the food producers on the committee all worked within this regional direct marketing paradigm, the faculty advisory committee members did not seem to understand any distinction between different agriculture economic paradigms, with the exception of Shelly, the agriculture business professor who described the direct market model as a niche market within the globalized commodity agriculture system.

While there were distinctions between the food producers' and the faculty advisory committee members' views on agricultural economics paradigms, the administration also seemed to be playing both sides of the direct market/commodity binary as well, without fully committing to the goals of direct market as an alternative to the global commodity market. SSU has an existing agriculture business major which is anchored in the global commodity market paradigm, as described by Shelly. Food producers in this paradigm bristle at the suggestion that their method of food production is *unsustainable* (Barth, 2018), despite analysis from economists like Meter (2013) which demonstrate its economic unsustainability, and despite environmental critiques of conventional agriculture's dependence on chemical fertilizers and pesticides that diminish soil health, overuse scarce water resources, cause harmful runoff to streams and water table, and threaten pollinators and other wildlife which are not the target species for cultivation (Gomiero, Pimentel, & Paoletti, 2011). SSU not only offers the agriculture business program but also recently secured a partnership with the state's agricultural university to offer their courses online with support from SSU biology and chemistry faculty as local tutors. SSU is not allowed to offer an

agriculture science major by state law; only the land grant agriculture university in the state is allowed to do so. Both of these initiatives are ways around that regulation, however: the agriculture business degree is housed in the business department so it is not technically an agriculture science major, and the partnership with the land grant university is a pass through for students to earn the degree from that university while enrolling in the majority of their general education coursework at SSU. Furthermore, both of these initiatives plus the Food Studies major are attempts for SSU to capture a share of the perceived market of students interested in a career focused on food, the key distinction being that the first two are grounded in global commodity agriculture and inherited farming operations and the third potentially represents a resistance to this paradigm, an emerging need of agricultural education for non-inheritors. In any event, no students at SSU were consulted in the development of the program, despite student requests to be interviewed for the project.

Extractive versus regenerative. The framers of this new Food Studies major lack ideological unity, and another binary emerges of two sides of economic paradigms: extractive versus regenerative. The global commodity agriculture paradigm is an extractive paradigm, extracting the value of the target species (potatoes, for example) without accounting for externalized environmental or social costs. The direct market paradigm described by the food producers focuses on building local relationships, essential to the regenerative agriculture paradigm. These include fostering human relationships between food producers and consumers as well as non-human relationships among soil microbes and non-target flora and fauna.

Regenerative economics and regenerative agriculture focus on the health of the overall system, in contrast to extractive models, which focus on generating profit without consideration for externalized costs to others or to the system itself. The subprime mortgage global financial crisis of 2008 and agricultural runoff causing algae blooms downstream follow from these extractive models.

Sustainability excluded. The administration representative with whom I spoke also seemed focused on extraction, and even resisted the inclusion of "sustainability" as an aspect of the Food Studies program. Maureen, the Assistant Vice President for Academic Affairs, explained that SSU wanted to create tuition revenue through the new Food Studies program and that they wanted to act quickly to establish this program to become a leader in the field. Brands are essential to capitalism in that branded products are associated with the companies that produce them, and brands drive desire (a fundamental requirement of capitalism) by supporting assumptions about quality, consistency and reliability. Thus the university, by wanting to brand itself as a leader in Food Studies, creates assumptions about the academic program's quality and value as well as the need for this focus, conversation, and training for future food workers.

According to Maureen, some of the initial language used to frame what would become the Food Studies program was generated through the president brainstorming and Googling words and phrases about food, such as "farm to table," "organic food" and "local food." Maureen stated: "It really was the president's idea up front. She had seen something

somewhere that was called a food studies program, then ... looking further we were Googling programs that were called food studies. The emphasis in most of those programs was to focus on ... was food as the centrality of how things are interconnected, that sustainability programs or other interdisciplinary programs might not, where food might be an aspect, but not the central focus." The pauses in Maureen's sentences and the look on her face suggested to me that she was searching for an explanation for why the university president had not considered "sustainable" as a search term, even as "Sustainability" was decided to be one of the four emphases in the Food Studies major. The president may not have wanted to alienate the majority of the region's farmers who use conventional pesticides within the global commodity agriculture paradigm, as these farmers may bristle at the term "sustainable," (Barth, 2018) which could explain why she left out that search term. Thus the limited choice of search terms may have led to the conclusion that there are only a handful of Food Studies programs around the country which are primarily on the coasts, a belief expressed by several interviewees, including Maureen. Had they searched the term "sustainable Food Studies" they would have discovered hundreds of existing programs utilizing this critical perspective that may have better informed the theoretical foundation for the program (Barth, 2018). For instance, in my graduate research assistantship work for the Appalachian State University's nascent AppalFRESH (Appalachian Food Research for Equity, Sustainability and Health) faculty collaborative, I found many such programs. It strains credulity that Maureen and the president did not associate Food Studies with sustainability. Some of the interviewees also felt it was problematic that the new academic program began with a university president's

Google search of buzzwords surrounding Food Studies, and they worried about the problems these shortcuts would create for this new program.

In a sense, the university's choices to include and answer the interests of the direct market farmer subjectivities and of local producers' needs to keep their existing businesses running also exclude and yet try to accommodate the narratives of the commodity agriculture producers. The Food Studies program would try to cultivate the skills needed to work within the direct market paradigm, but the administration also did not want to alienate regional farmers working in the globalized commodity paradigm. The direct market farmers see their paradigm as a path to salvation for the local economy and the environment--one local producer even called the soil health movement a type of religion. This salvation is the regeneration of soil and human relationships rather than extraction that damns the environment and exploits the farmworker. Food Studies committee members displayed a desire to convert commodity agriculture producers to the direct market model and a willingness to assist them to make the transition. This Food Studies program, from their perspective, is an important tool to build the necessary infrastructure for a commodity conventional agriculture producer to take the risks to convert to a direct market operation. Exclusion of those commodity conventional agriculture subjectivities on the committee elides their interests in whether they want to be converted, and looks like an instance of paternalism, *planning for* rather than *planning with*, a problem of which Historically White Institutions of higher education, especially those serving large populations of non-White students, are often accused. Also, this framework does not account for people who want

more than to be an employee of an existing farm, or people who want to start a food-related business. Graduates of this Food Studies program could work for an existing farm but unless they can overcome the enormous obstacle of land access could not own the means to production and self-determination themselves.

Shortcuts in visual, curricular and programmatic representation. *Brand* in the conventional sense is a simplified icon to be used as a marketing tool to evoke the story of a product, service or company. For example, Carl the food service director on the Food Studies committee explained that in his training in hospitality, Food Studies would prepare a person to become a food stylist who enhances the optical appeal of food for use in print media or advertisements. He explained that it involved visual shortcuts to make the foods look appetizing, some of which were in fact not even food. For instance, when photographing pancakes with syrup, food stylists do not actually use maple syrup. To get the right viscosity, rich color and reflection, *motor oil* is poured over the pancakes. Ironically, it looks more real, more appetizing, than the real thing.

In some ways, this Food Studies program looks a little like pouring motor oil over the pancakes. This program could be a great program. It could solve the university's problem with declining enrollment. It could resolve the farmers' issues with lack of employees who understand local markets. It could provide students with training for meaningful living wage jobs. It could stimulate the local economy by creating food entrepreneurs. But shortcuts in developing this program to make it look glossy and appealing may in fact be toxic. Many

interviewees mentioned it was important to get the program developed quickly to capitalize on the "foodie" trend and be an early leader in the discipline. However, Nina, who was hired as a consultant to do a needs assessment for the proposed Food Studies curriculum, expressed concern over the limited amount of time the university allotted for her to do the needs assessment, write the curriculum for eight new courses, develop the degree plan, and prepare a presentation for the first Food Studies Committee meeting. She was hired in late January of 2017, and by March 1 that same year, she was expected to have the aforementioned completed. Another interviewee, Briana, the biology department chair, said that in the rush to get this program underway, faculty were unhappy because this was a president-led initiative which excluded faculty from meaningfully participating in creation of the new Food Studies program. Additionally, there was confusion about the staffing and funding of the program. Some interviewees such as Briana said that the university was "planning to create a full-time tenure-track faculty line for the director of the Food Studies program," but the program proposal Shelly presented to Faculty Senate described the position as "cost-neutral," "half-time for the first two years," "with recruiting responsibilities" and "grant-funded." However, when I mentioned the project to the university grant writer, she said no one had contacted the grant office to begin searching for grant opportunities to fund the position[4].

[4] In exploring the USDA website, I noticed there is an initiative to assist Hispanic Serving Institutions with developing food and agricultural education programming (https://nifa.usda.gov/program/hispanic-serving-institutions-education-grants-program)

I share these stories about the confusion around the substance of this Food Studies program because it seems as if the university is eager to create the signifier, the brand, of a Food Studies major, but the speed with which they are assembling the program makes it seem as if there is insufficient substance to the signified, the program. And in fact, the person hired to develop the curriculum, Nina, was hoping that her work developing the curriculum would make her a strong candidate for the full-time position, but was disappointed when they offered her the equivalent of $10/hour to teach the courses as an adjunct. She explained that the pay rate was less than her hourly childcare costs, so she declined.

The university's decisions focusing on revenue generation and expediency while constraining themselves from investing in the human capital of a full-time position (Briana also mentioned that a department of a single faculty was also problematic) created barriers to access and excluded students and even faculty. Maureen's justifications for the program focused on how it would serve the needs of the university. I asked her if any students were involved in discussions about the new major, and she answered no. I asked every interviewee the same question, and no one had had discussions with students in the rapid process, even after a student requested to give input to Nina. When I asked Nina why students' perspectives were not included in the scope of work for her needs assessment, she explained that the focus was to interview employers, and the short timeframe for the interviews did not allow for other perspectives. The neoliberal drive for expediency trumped

the need to be thorough in utilizing diverse perspectives, such as those of the students for whom the program putatively is intended.

How did these shortcuts *function to support traditional power structures*? Shortcuts are practices which produce efficiency, by excluding students' and professors' subjectivities which would slow down the process. Shortcuts can produce superficial relationships, or circumnavigate relationships altogether. The shortcuts are in part produced by a focus on extracting revenue. The absence of a strong faculty resistance via a complacent faculty senate produces few checks and balances to presidential power, enabling these shortcuts in curriculum development to be drawn up outside of their established curriculum approval process. Lack of transparency in these shortcuts produces decision-making which may appear to be more democratic than it actually is. These shortcuts also produce fear, resentment, low faculty morale, and a sense of lawlessness as the existing faculty senate curriculum approval process appears to be overridden by this presidential initiative. This deference to administrative interests and forces of marketization in higher education are consistent with neoliberalism.

Local as a brand. Elle marks her first engagement with the Local Food movement in 2008 after the community garden coordinator attended the Community Food Security Conference in Philadelphia. Upon her return, the garden coordinator scheduled a presentation and potluck. That first meeting led to monthly presentations and potlucks, and eventually the formation of the non-profit Local Foods Coalition. While the original conference has gone

dormant, there are many food security, sustainable agriculture, and regenerative ranching conferences which are sub-specializing in elements discussed by the earlier conferences (c.f., http://ngfn.org/; http://food-studies.com/; https://quiviracoalition.org/). This focus on community food security is sometimes characterized as relocalization ("relocalization | Definition of relocalization in Appropedia: The sustainability wiki," n.d.; De Young & Princen, 2012) which in many ways is a usage of *local* that is not used as a regional brand, as every region has its generic *local* producers. This usage of *local* does not function in the way a regional food brand works in a capitalist system, as the initial branding committee used the word brand; instead, it refers to the economic system which supports local producers and local consumers rather than relying on the global commodity agriculture system. In a sense this usage of local is an anti-brand, resisting the commodification of food into fungible units and instead positing that there is special value to a food product because of where it was grown and what economic paradigm was used. The binary of global/local privileges the globalized commodity paradigm in our food system, but the local, direct market model resists: This is the sense of *local* that the food producers want more people to understand, both future employees and food consumers who co-create the food system each time they spend money on food.

The Food Studies committee members were closely affiliated with the Local Foods Coalition, and two committee members are employed by the coalition. Meat and grain producer Ken, grass-fed beef producer Tessa, and potato farmers Luis and Burt were members of this Food Studies committee. I interviewed these food producers in the best ways

that fit their busy schedules, including an interview in a potato barn during the last days of harvest when Luis could not get away from the farm. The interview with Burt occurred over cell phone while he was between fields. Tessa emailed her responses to interview questions in the middle of the night, mere hours after I sent them because she knew she would not have time to respond otherwise. Besides the one-on-one interviews, I interacted with all of these local food producers at potlucks, meetings, and harvest celebrations during my time in the field.

Ken, Tessa, Luis, and Burt kept referencing the program as a "Local Food Studies" program. Perhaps these references were inferred because of the two different usages of the word *local*: *local* as in those who grow food within a certain distance of the university, and *local* as in relocalization, the more radical, anarchic notion of disengaging from globalized systems. Because all of these food producers grow food nearby, they are, by definition, local food producers. As committee members, they interpreted the attention they received from the president as an indication that this new academic program would center on the other usage of local, provisioning through the direct market relocalization paradigm.

These local food producers selected for the Food Studies committee actually *live relocalization* in that they are all food activists for the direct market model. They have given presentations about the ways their food production is different from globalized commodity agriculture. They have spoken at the state capitol on agriculture policy and have leadership positions in the agricultural community, such as president of the state's potato board. They

teach other farmers about organic practices and soil health. They participate in the direct market model Meter's 2013 economic study described. They sell their food through the farmers market, CSAs (community supported agriculture subscriptions), the regional food hub and grocery co-ops. However, these local food producers represent a hopeful minority voice in this region by adhering to the direct market model, and they work to persuade their neighbors who are participating in the globalized commodity market to make the transition to the more profitable and sustainable direct market model. This new Food Studies curriculum could create the new workforce to support globalized commodity agriculture producers to make the transition (back) to relocalized, direct marketing. I include the parenthetical "back" because the direct market model *was* the food system until just a few decades ago.

After interviewing the food producers on my original list, I expanded my list to include interviews with the Food Studies faculty advisory committee at the university, which was distinct from the Food Studies committee. The Food Studies committee was composed of farmers and ranchers, while the faculty advisory committee was composed of a handful of faculty in fields related to Food Studies: agriculture business, biology, sociology and exercise science. The presence of the faculty advisory committee came to my attention when I read emails that were dated in 2016 that described groundwork that had been laid by this faculty advisory committee prior to the first meeting of the food producers in March 2017, at which Nina presented the curriculum for the Food Studies courses. The food producers on the Food Studies committee were unaware of this faculty advisory committee, and the faculty advisory committee members were unaware of the existence of the food producer committee.

Notably, during the interviews with the university faculty advisory committee members, none of them referred to the proposed program as the "Local Food Studies program." Perhaps on some level they may have recognized the limited student audience such a program would create. According to Nina's needs assessment report, Maureen, the Assistant VP of Academic Affairs, explicitly described a program goal was to position the university as "a destination for Food Studies," but not necessarily *Local* Food Studies. There is a tension between a broadly appealing Food Studies curriculum that could draw new people to the region versus a focus on the food system of this specific region. This tension also indicates two different target audiences of students: bringing in students from elsewhere to stimulate the local economy via their tuition dollars (extractive) versus supporting young people who live in the region who hunger for a good education and living wage jobs in their hometown (regenerative).

Framing an academic program as *local* creates challenges. Again, *local* has at least two meanings: local as in produced by farmers within a region regardless of economic paradigm, and local as in relocalization/direct market. By framing the Food Studies program as *local* it becomes problematic in that it may only be focusing on the geographical aspect of *local*, eliding whether the producer participates in globalized commodity agriculture or not. The small subset of the local producers who want to increase their revenue through direct marketing process, value-added products and local branding are the ones who asked the university to include this type of education within the Food Studies major. While they are

geographically located within the region (local), they also subscribe to the ideological beliefs which frame the relocalization movement.

An additional problem with framing the program as *local* is that the university faculty interviewed did not actually embrace both usages of *local*. In other words, they might see the program as local in the geographical sense because it supports local farmers but not the relocalization sense. Further, the university faculty who were asked to advise in the process of developing the Food Studies program lacked expertise in Food Studies, as Maureen explained, which necessitated hiring a consultant to fill the gap in their knowledge base. While the university faculty had expertise in Biology, Exercise Science and Sociology, they did not actively volunteer to create this program out of their passion for food systems or possess a knowledge base in Food Studies. Two faculty did have some familiarity with food systems: Susan, the Sociology professor, teaches a course critical of globalization and food systems, and defines Food Studies as a subject for "anybody interested in the food industry outside of the corporate world." Shelly, the Agriculture Business professor, teaches courses on agricultural economics and views Food Studies as the psychology of food, a subset of behavioral science. Her views are grounded in the globalized commodity agriculture paradigm, with the presumption that chemical fertilizers and pesticides are necessary to produce the quantity of food needed for the global markets. She also said organic food is nutritionally identical to non-organic, and that the jury is still out on whether climate change is human-created. She said "local" and "organic" foods function as niche markets that have a place *within* the globalized commodity agriculture paradigm.

The anti-brand. I cannot conclude this section on branding without acknowledging the work of Naomi Klein (2002) in her book *No Logo*. Her analysis of the relationships between branding and neoliberal capitalism shows how branding in globalized marketing is what gives products value, and that branding breaks the relationship between the producer and consumer, allowing the consumer to be ignorant of the conditions under which the product was produced. Her description of sweatshop workers as primarily young women who have been drawn away from their family support structures sounds eerily like the forces which create similar docility and vulnerability in college students and even junior faculty.

As an example of how pernicious this breakage between consumer and the context of how a product was produced is, I will share a story of how I was recently duped. I purchased a loaf of bread with words on the packaging which said "Farmer-Miller-Baker. Know your Bread." Only when I got home from the store did I read the packaging more carefully to note that it was produced in a bakery 1000 miles away. It occurred to me that marketers are aware that consumers may have a growing interest in supporting "local" bakeries, and perhaps they were hoping that I did not read the label carefully. I thought I was buying a locally produced product, but I paid for the *idea* of a locally produced product instead. The idea of a local brand has to some extent also been commodified.

Relationships

The branding exercise that kicked off these conversations about Food Studies served an aspirational goal. A trained workforce is a necessary condition in order to have more food

producers be able to participate in direct market agriculture, which is the goal of the food activists represented on the Food Studies committee. However, the existing faculty and the majority of the agricultural producers in the region do not necessarily subscribe to the underlying ideology of direct market agriculture and were at best ambivalent about whether the program would take an ideological stance in support of globalized commodity or chemical-intensive conventional agriculture or in resistance to it, as many sustainability-oriented Food Studies programs do. By splitting the difference through calling the program Food Studies but actively resisting using the word "sustainable," the university has positioned the program to *sort of* satisfy the needs of the initially consulted activist food producers while not alienating the majority of farmers in the region who bristle at the thought that their lifework is unsustainable and harmful to planet and people. It may ultimately fail to meet the needs of either. The proposed Food Studies curriculum may omit the regenerative agriculture focus which is so important to the producers.

Focus on relationships emerged over and over in the interviews and in my readings about regenerative agriculture. Cultivating and managing relationships were key skills the direct market producers identified for the Food Studies curriculum to provide. However, the people involved with developing the program, consisting of two non-overlapping committees of producers and of faculty, were not even aware that the other committee existed. Some of the members of the Food Studies committee, like Carl, were unsure if the committee or project still existed since he had not heard anything about the project for several months after two initial meetings. Further, the university seemed to be cultivating a relationship with the

consultant Nina that might lead to full-time employment, yet they offered her an untenable part-time contract at a pay rate that could not sustain a person's material needs.

On being included. I consider these relationship breakdowns as evidence that the people involved with developing this project were included because of certain subjectivities while simultaneously being excluded for others. For example, Nina who has a PhD in nutrition is included because her subjectivity as a researcher establishes credibility for the program and fills a knowledge gap that none of the tenured faculty have. I also note that Nina's training in nutrition did not include any knowledge about direct market agriculture, which she learned through her needs assessment interviews which she conducted as the consultant. Her role as consultant produced her expertise, when generally it works the other way around: expertise produces opportunities to consult. At the same time, her consultant subjectivity excludes her from having a tenure-track, full-time faculty position and its faculty senate membership which would have allowed her to vote for curricular changes in a democratic process. Notably, none of the faculty advisory committee members were included in the presentation to Faculty Senate. Only producers were invited to give that presentation, a panel of farmers who shared emotional stories of their multi-generational family farms and their desire to grow and sell food in this direct market paradigm, to emphasize the credibility of their subjectivities as producers requesting this curriculum. However, they did not have the opportunity to create this curriculum they were allegedly representing since it was presented to them as a *fait accompli* at their first meeting.

Students are also both included and excluded for different subjectivities. Crassly, the only student subjectivity that was included was that of tuition payer. Increased enrollment in a new academic program means more revenue for the university. However, when I asked both Maureen and Nina about students' input about what they might want for the new program, they indicated that students' perspectives were not included in the program development. When I asked them each about why graduates from SSU were not already creating food-related businesses, they both described low-income student populations as risk-averse. So the students' subjectivity as tuition payers is included, but their likely subjectivity as low-income and risk-averse was excluded from consideration.

It makes some sense that a university struggling with finances wants to create the program with as little cost as possible, but treating Nina as a short-term contract consultant rather than investing in a longer term relationship creates a situation where the classes may exist in the catalogue with no one qualified and willing to teach them, a signifier misrepresenting the thing signified. This signifier carries the power of the university brand and may dupe a few cohorts of students into enrolling into the program before they realize that there is no value added by this program, when the courses that are required in the degree plan are delayed indefinitely from being scheduled on the course rotation because there is no one employed by the university qualified to teach them. Because no SSU faculty developed the 8 new FOOD prefix courses, the curriculum Nina produced may likely sit on a shelf.

Deception, exploitation, extraction. Branding unfortunately can be associated with deception, like the motor oil on the pancakes. A feature of the globalized commodity agriculture paradigm is extraction within relationships: the commodity buyer extracts his/her fee through the transactions on behalf of the farmers with a motive to drive down consumer prices to the lowest price the farmer can tolerate. Conventional agriculture is also extractive in nature, by generating profits for the owner while externalizing environmental and social costs the communities and ecosystems must face. Relationships which at first appear to be healthy may eventually reveal exploitation and extractive tactics.

It seems that both the university and its community partners were keen to extract value from each other, fixing a signifier temporarily, to create *credibility* without engaging in deeper relationship goals. Tessa spoke of how her beef co-op's credibility is boosted by its affiliation with a university, that it would benefit her business for their ideas about soil health to be featured at a conference hosted on SSU's campus. I attended the opening day of this conference, and it was remarkable that the guest soil health expert, who holds a PhD in livestock genetics, was not affiliated with the SSU biology department. I also saw no SSU biology faculty in attendance. The beef co-op was able to secure the university as its venue without a rental fee, and Maureen ruefully suggested the university was too generous in not charging a fee because they wanted to appear to be supporting the local agricultural producers, and Tessa was volunteering her time on the Food Studies committee. There was some confusion about who would be introducing the guest expert from the university: the registration website literally had a "?" in the place of the introducer's name, which seemed

like an oversight which occurred from the university not fully embracing their role in managing the logistics in partnership with the beef co-op. Shelly ascended the stage to give the campus welcome and to speak briefly about the new Food Studies program, which was listed as a topic on the program. She mentioned the new Food Studies program only briefly as not yet approved and instead spent the majority of her speech describing the other agricultural initiatives. She seemed to position herself as the agricultural faculty to establish credibility with this audience of mostly established ranchers, but she seemed to miss the mark on understanding their subjectivities as soil health and relocalization activists. She explained that the Food Studies program came from suggestions from "you, the local agricultural community," a bit of a stretch since the broad shape of the Food Studies curriculum was shaped by existing faculty and courses in 2016, then more specifically by Nina's consulting work in early 2017 prior to the first Food Studies committee meeting in March 2017 where Tessa and the rest of the food producers were presented with the already developed curriculum and degree plans.

These interviews showed institutional incoherence (or intentional lack of clarity so as not to alienate conventional farmers) about the purpose of the Food Studies program. Maureen acknowledged the importance of sustainability to the Food Studies committee members but indicated that most people cannot afford food produced that way, and that the region's farmers were not likely to convert to the direct market model. I asked her how to reconcile Shelly's comments about climate change and organic foods with the discourses about sustainability that the Food Studies committee members raised, and she said

it would be highly unlikely that local farms could become completely sustainable, that conventional producers may make changes toward adopting crops that use less water (which itself is a move toward sustainability) only if it is profitable to do so. "Sustainable agriculture" may itself be unsustainable, and Tessa prefers the term "regenerative agriculture" to indicate that the current efforts at sustainability are sustaining an inequitable and continually degenerating ecological system: She asks, "Who would want to sustain that?" Instead, producers like her consider their work to be regenerating soil health, investing in improved diversity of soil microbes and therefore the food grown in it on the micro-scale and improved community and ecosystem health on the macro-scale.

Conclusion

The purpose of this research project is to critique how practices of inclusion and exclusion during the curriculum development process reproduce inherited privilege. My research questions ask:

RQ1: How do socio-cultural practices of inclusion and exclusion, among those developing the Food Studies program, function to support traditional power structures?

RQ2: How does the exclusion of faculty from the Food Studies curriculum development process reveal paternalistic, neoliberal efficiency mindsets?

RQ3: How did the Food Studies curriculum development process commodify the needs, desires, and goals of key stakeholders, especially those who have been historically minoritized (non-White, non-wealthy, non-male), in order to sustain dominant power structures?

This chapter primarily focused on answering the first of these questions, and the next two chapters focus on the other two questions respectively. To revisit the research question about the socio-cultural practices of inclusion and exclusion among those developing the Food Studies program and how they function to support traditional power structures, we see that there had been a value-added agriculture brainstorming committee, which branched off to do a branding exercise of developing a regional brand to support already existing successful farm businesses. This brainstorming facilitated some of these discourses to emerge, such as the relocalization vis-à-vis local food when local direct market producers realized that what they needed more than a regional brand was employees with skills to support a local food direct market economy. Historical conditions which enabled this new program include food producers frustrated with the globalized commodity agriculture paradigm who were working toward more profitable and sustainable models, and the opportunity for innovation that a presidential leadership change presents. Material conditions which made these discussions possible included the presence of food producers in need of training for their workforce and a willing ear from a new university president keen for new tuition sources, while working within the limitations of the faculty at the university.

There are tensions among the different actors involved in the development of the Food Studies program. Some are based on the subjectivities of these actors: tenured faculty versus contract consultant, commodity producers versus direct market producers, and administration focused on quickly developing a degree versus faculty committed to shared governance. Some tensions are based on ideological differences: regenerative versus

extractive agriculture, and commodity versus direct market. In the next chapter I explore these tensions further as I dig deeper into analysis to discern structures of paternalistic and neoliberal efficiency mindsets.

Chapter 5: The Meeting before the Meeting

The problem for this dissertation project focuses on how Institutions of Higher Education have a history of reproducing the power structures they have inherited, perpetuating raced, classed, and gendered inequities. This chapter's analysis delves more deeply into the contexts of timelines and meetings during the months of this curriculum development process. Specifically, this chapter addresses my second research question: *How does the exclusion of faculty from the Food Studies curriculum development process reveal paternalistic, neoliberal efficiency mindsets?* Because important subjectivities were *not* invited to the table for this project, this chapter explores how their exclusion functions to reproduce power structures. Narratives within the new Food Studies program circulate within a context of decision-making, which often happens, or appears to happen, in committee meetings. Narratives *outside* of the development of the program include those which would not explicitly benefit the university in its goals of growing enrollment and increasing tuition revenue but would nevertheless require the *development of curriculum,* food education programming which is not tied to a university degree program. These curricula might be used for employee education about relocalized food systems, consumer education about supporting the local food economy, or food system context for the bilingual (Spanish) farmer incubation program run by the Local Foods Coalition.

In this chapter, I continue to use feminist analysis on the narratives and texts which emerged in my interviews with faculty, administrators, and community members in this rural university community. The interviewees include Elle, the director of the Local Foods

Coalition; Beatrice, the chair of the Human Performance and Physical Education (HPPE) department; Adam, the SSU student life director; and various other committee participants.

Briefly, my analysis below shows that economic needs initially drove the curriculum process, as the direct market food producers wanted a larger pool of consumers who purchase food directly from them rather than food that is sold to a global commodity buyer, then grocery chain, then consumer. To make it appear that the faculty were more involved than they were, the university president created the appearance of inclusion while resisting the complexity that diversity of perspectives would require. Diversity of perspectives inclusion is at odds with neoliberal efficiency mindset, and the rushed nature of this project privileged efficiency over including important perspectives.

Coalition-building

My work as a higher education administrator taught me to seek "a meeting before the meeting" in order to build coalitions. These meetings helped me learn what motivates others and helped me cultivate long-term working relationships with my colleagues across campus for mutual benefit. This coalition-building technique presumes that the others with whom I build the coalition share the same beliefs about democratic processes and also presumes that they recognize me and everyone in the process as worthy of being included in the coalition. That may not always be the case.

There are tensions among the discourses of decision-making. I imagine a continuum: On one end all participants have full understanding of each other's needs and concerns and

have sought to maximize inclusion of potential subjectivities/perspectives. There is sufficient deliberation and discussion to arrive at full consensus, where all parties have negotiated their positions, are transparent about what they are willing to compromise, and leave the table satisfied with the agreement, knowing it was arrived at in good faith for all parties. The other end of the continuum is decision-making driven by efficiency and pragmatism, with the group working towards decisions which can reasonably be implemented within a short time frame with existing resources. The former risks infinite delay as it is not possible to include every (changing, contingent, contextual) perspective, and some perspectives may be at odds with others' at the table resulting in an impasse. The latter risks autocratic individuals in positions of power driving through a pet project while elided essential subjectivities are kept out of the process altogether in favor of getting to a result quickly, cheaply, or both. Focus on efficiency and pragmatism produces conditions which enable committees to skirt established procedures for curriculum development, for example.

One technique to achieve the best of both worlds is to engage in meetings before meetings, to reach out individually to other committee members to discover where their perspectives lie, what they are willing to compromise on, and what they will fight for (c.f. Maxwell, 2008; Molinsky, 2016). Developing these coalitions is effective for gathering this intelligence and cultivating the longer term relationships that sustain organizations year after year.

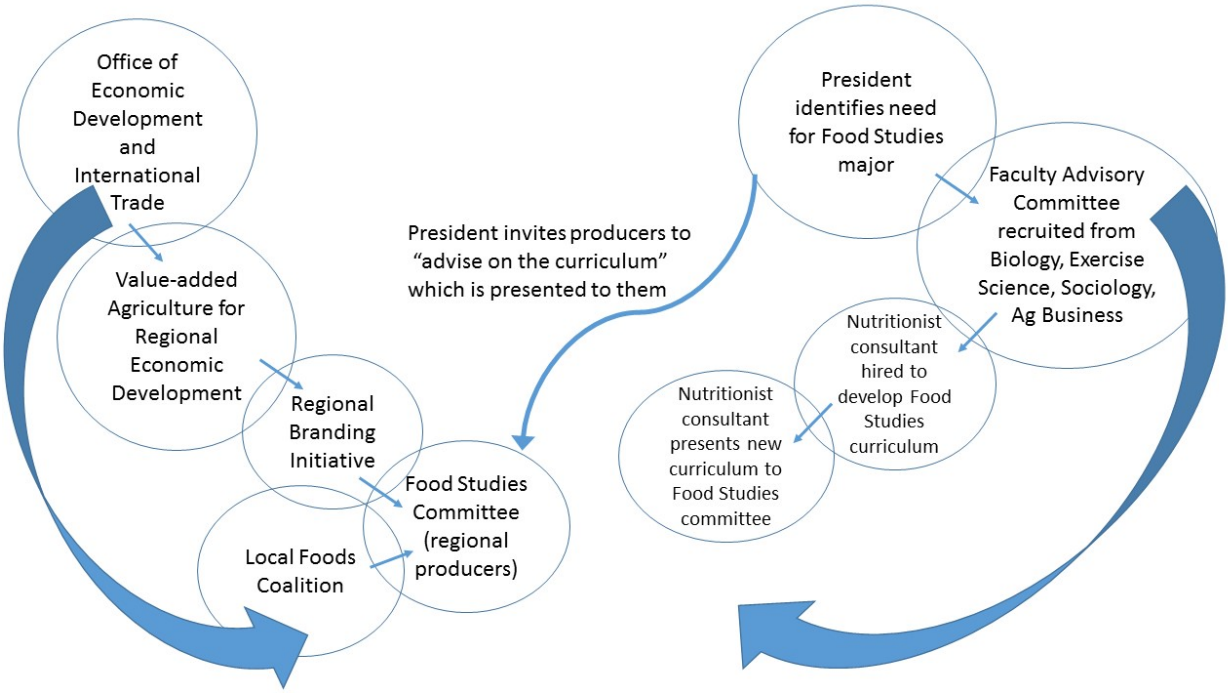
The graphic below represents the entities which held meetings as part of the emergence of the Food Studies project, to provide context of how it evolved. I was able to

produce this graphic because Elle, the Local Food Coalition director, gave me access to all of her meeting notes going back to 2016 related to what she saw as the emergence of this interest in developing Food Studies curriculum. In the upper left corner is the Office of Economic Development and International Trade (OEDIT), an initiative of the state governor's office to financially support brainstorming sessions in communities. The international trade focus means this organization ideologically resides in the globalized paradigm of food production. Those meetings began in 2016. A subcommittee on value-added agriculture formed from that group, and within their meetings the idea of developing a regional food brand emerged, necessitating another subcommittee to develop the regional branding initiative. This concept of a regional brand was helpful to the existing Local Foods Coalition nonprofit, whose mission is to support more consumers and producers of local food, and whose members became involved with this project. A regional brand signals to consumers that the product comes from the particular region, aiding their recognition of which products to support if consumers value supporting local businesses. While the Food Studies committee is comprised of members of the Local Foods Coalition, they did not develop the curriculum but were instead the audience for a presentation of the curriculum that a consultant developed.

On the right side of the graphic we see the SSU president identifying a need for the Food Studies major from discussions with local food producers in 2015-16. The president assembled a faculty advisory committee comprised of mostly department chairs from biology, exercise science, sociology and agriculture business to identify existing SSU courses

which could be used in the degree plan for the new major. Acknowledging that current faculty lack expertise in "Food Studies," the administration hired a consultant to interview food employers to ask what skills are needed of employees and to develop a degree plan and courses accordingly. The consultant developed eight new courses and the degree plan for a new Food Studies major, which she assembled into a 63 page report and presented to the newly assembled Food Studies committee at its first meeting on March 1, 2017.

Figure 5.1. Constellation of Entities Involved with Emerging Food Studies Program



These committees spinning off of committees reflects the moving target of economic development in rural communities. Sometimes there is grant funding, in this case an OEDIT grant from the state governor's office, which funds brainstorming sessions for community members to grass-roots-edly generate new ideas for regional economic development.

Sometimes the brainstorming leads to actionable plans, which generally require more funding. Sometimes it leads to more meetings. Sometimes the meetings fizzle out and presumably the ideas generated through grass-roots processes get shelved somewhere because of lack of resources to implement the ideas. In the case of the SSU Food Studies initiative, the initial funding from OEDIT piqued the shared interests of the university and the Local Foods Coalition members, funded facilitators and snacks for several meetings, and led to an actionable plan in the form of the curriculum and degree plan proposal. Presently this proposal is shelved due to lack of resources to implement the plan. Additionally, the university president who had championed the project resigned in March 2018, and without an administrator backing the project, it is "delayed indefinitely," according to the assistant vice president of academic affairs.

Who Gets Invited to the Table? The Ecosystem of Committees that Substantiate the Food Studies Program

While I was in the region investigating this Food Studies project, I was able to attend an economic development session for one of these committees. I learned that even when these economic development programs specifically target historically underrepresented populations such as Hispanic business owners, they still tend to benefit White business owners. One meeting attendee who was involved with a USDA business loan program to support Hispanic-owned value-added agriculture businesses explained that only two businesses were able to successfully comply with the program's paperwork requirements that year, and neither of them were Hispanic-owned. I attended a webinar on this topic of

regional food system investment which reached this same conclusion, and suggested cooperative and worker-owned business models appear to have more success with fostering Hispanic-owned agriculture businesses (c.f. https://mainstreetproject.org/; (Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis and the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, 2017).

During the economic development meeting I attended, I noticed that the conversation was directed towards planning for potential newcomers to the community, who might benefit from the programs being planned for them, described in the meeting variously as guests, visitors, tourists, and surprisingly[5] as day laborers. Each term evoked a different image in my mind of what type of person was being referred to. *Tourist* evokes an image of wealthier, older, White recreation-oriented people who are looking for a program with agritourism elements, like spending a day learning how to make cheese and playing with baby goats. *Day*

[5] I was surprised to hear day laborers classified as newcomers because 1) many day laborers have worked and lived in the community their whole lives, and 2) as a White middle class person, I had not considered creating programming for day laborers as a niche for regional economic development. I'm not sure if that means my racial/class bias excluded them as people worthy of economic development programming, or if the idea of designing for potential exploitation offends my sensibilities of what ethical economic development should be striving towards. In either case, no one in the meeting seemed to identify as a day laborer, so perspectives from that community were not present for a discussion which may impact economic opportunity for them. I followed up with the person who suggested *day laborers*, and he meant it in the context of developing a temp agency for people interested in short, non-permanent gigs, such as being a ranch hand or working on a crew repairing fencing. He made the suggestion because there were clients of the homeless shelter who were not interested in long term jobs and did not trust getting into the truck of a stranger who pulls up to the shelter looking for people to work without some sort of system vouching for them. In our follow up conversation it occurred to us that the state Workforce Development office did not want this responsibility because they may quantify only full-time employment as their goal for employment. When we thought more deeply on why "the market" had not responded in the form of an entrepreneur starting a temp agency business, it occurred to us that the people picking up the homeless people for day work had no interest in paying someone a fee to help them get workers, which would necessitate some oversight of their operations and might expose potential OSHA or other labor violations. It seems no one wants to pay for systems that would make vulnerable people feel safer, so the workers continue to take the risk of climbing into a stranger's truck.

laborer evokes an image of Hispanic men hired at low wages for low employer commitment, manual work with no paper trail, high risk of exploitation, and little protection. These images represent racialized and classed views of these newcomers, impacting the manner of extraction of each. Wealthy White tourists bring in tourism dollars to be spent at recreational activities, restaurants and hotels. Brown working bodies bring the manual labor extracted from their physical bodies without the structures of labor protections, health care, or job security. These narratives produce different expectations of different types of bodies and consequently different types of economic development geared towards each. The wealthy White tourist bodies demand and produce middle-class comforts, the sensations of relaxation, leisure, luxury, adventure, and learning new things in a recreational setting. The poorer working bodies produce invisibility and exploitation, the dehumanization of embodying labor costs while farm owners extract as much work as legally allowable, sometimes evading legal oversight altogether. Immigration status and being perceived as Hispanic position some day laborers within the shadow of those with fully-acknowledged subjectivities, working for cash wages under the table, in constant risk of exploitation, a job-ending injury, ICE, detention, deportation, and separation from families[6].

[6] For a rich analysis of challenges US farm workers face, read Seth Holmes' 2013 *Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies: Migrant Farmworkers in the United States.* Many of Holmes' subjects were indigenous Triqui people from Oaxaca, in southern Mexico, whose first language is a non-Spanish indigenous language. The region of this study has a similar community of approximately 400 Central American Mayan people from Guatemala, who speak the indigenous language Quanhobal, many of whom were active with the Local Foods Coalition. I very much wanted to interview members of the Guatemalan community for this project, but none of them were invited to participate on the Food Studies committees and were therefore categorically outside of the scope of this project.

How might the *day laborer* agritourism experience differ from that of the *tourists*? The people brainstorming in the room were not farmers as it was September and the busy harvest season. They were mostly middle-class White people in the types of jobs that allowed for a day-long brainstorming session away from their workplace: government employees, college administrators, non-profit employees, community volunteers whose work schedule allowed for this type of discretion with their time, and retirees. These were people who have a degree of latitude with their employer, members of the management class, people who do not punch a timeclock: a relatively privileged class of people who were deciding on a strategy to support economic development for people not present during the deliberating and decision making. Notably, their terms to describe newcomers to the community who might benefit from these new programs omit people who already live in the region who may wish to be living-wage employed in the local food economy, and people who wish to put down roots in this community buying homes and raising families, rather than passing through temporarily. This discourse of *newcomer* produces expectations for desirable wealthy newcomers, notably their ability to inject money into the local economy which is at odds with the realities of people who already live in the region who are struggling economically and might benefit from the economic development projects instead. The discourse of *newcomer* therefore produces a kind of gentrification of economic opportunity, planning for richer new people rather than serving the present populations' needs. This framing of opportunities for newcomers also privileges the extractive paradigm, meaning bringing in new money from tourist dollars is an extractive economic strategy, while developing

economic opportunities for existing regional residents would be an investment in a regenerative economic paradigm.

Meanwhile on campus, other meetings were happening independent of the community-based committees to make the Food Studies major possible. The chair of the human performance and physical education department, Beatrice, was eager to develop nutrition classes to complement the exercise physiology major. She met with the director of facilities to figure out the costs for a former commercial kitchen to be renovated for nutrition classes. She met with a nutritionist about developing curriculum for these classes. Then a hiring freeze caused her to set aside that project temporarily. A few months later, she accepted a position at another college.

Building long term relationships is essential for the coalition building strategy, and employee retention is necessary to foster this culture. However, higher education has trended towards contingent, part time work, which works against relationship building (American Association of University Professors, 2017). These practices function to alienate people rather than to include them, devaluing their expertise. In the course of interviews, I spoke with the university's director of student life, Adam, who cited a trend for new college graduates to expect five to seven careers over their lifetime, producing not the stability of a long term relationship but interactions with organizations on an as-needed basis, in a just-in-time, gig economy. A 2016 study supports his observations, indicating that 94% of the new jobs created since 2005 are alternative work arrangements such as temporary help agency workers, on-call workers, contract workers, and independent contractors or freelancers

(Soergel, 2016; Katz & Krueger, 2016). Incidentally, the student life director left the university, and academia, a few months after our interview. Committees therefore will often contain shorter-term employees as members, which makes longer term planning more difficult. To date, three members of the faculty advisory committee are no longer employed at the university. Their absence may produce further consolidation of power for those who remain. Their temporary presence may have produced a sense of broader democratic support and expertise than there actually was. This phenomenon of turnover typifies a short-term economic gain approach rather than looking at long-term investment.

When organizations cultivate temporary engagements with workers, it may lead to a cynicism which does the opposite of long term relationship building, leading to individuals extracting what benefit they can gain from these engagements with little concern for longer term outcomes, such as fulfilling the mission of the organization. On the other hand, sometimes people are included on the committee invitation as a gesture towards inclusion, without actually expecting the person to participate. The only Hispanic person invited to the Food Studies planning committee did not actually attend any of the meetings. One of the other farmers I interviewed indicated that the university did not seem to understand the schedule of a farmer, and that he would not be able to attend meetings during daylight hours until after harvest. Indeed, farmers began harvesting operations before sunrise and were still in the fields with bright headlights as late at 11 p.m.

Some of the interviewees thought the committee had gone dormant because they hadn't heard anything for a few months, which the food service director interpreted to mean

that he was initially invited but did not fit what the convener wanted and was left off of subsequent emails. Meanwhile, one committee member in particular was using the committee to leverage her business' project and was thrilled with the president's commitment to Food Studies because it "leant credibility" to her food business to have a university sponsor her guest speaker. It may have also been the case that the committee of food producers was assembled to make it *look* as if this Food Studies program was built in response to a community need expressed by these farmers.

The people invited to the table for this project were a handful of White faculty from disciplines tangentially related to food, and White farmers active with the Local Food movement, but not the hands-on farmers who were busiest during harvest months. These are the people who Christensen (2009) might describe as "the same ten people" who show up for these types of meetings, who are overwhelmingly White, middle class, and often female. When the curriculum consultant conducted interviews with food employers to determining the topics for the new FOOD prefix courses, she spoke with the following people:

1. Chief Cultivator, FarmRaiser (National organization that allows schools/organization to fundraise by selling local products)
2. Parent Outreach Coordinator, Integrated Nutrition Education Program
3. Program Director, Valley Educational Gardens Initiative
4. Director of Food Production, Regional Health Center
5. CEO and Co-founder, Cart (Start-up partnering with Uber/Lyft and a regional grocery chain to provide rideshares to grocery stores in low income, low food access Detroit).

6. Director, Local Foods Coalition
7. Food Service Director, local School District
8. Director, Food Bank network of the region
9. Owner, Body Basics Healing Center (Provides food and herbal healing consultation and products)
10. Owner, Founder, CEO, *Locavores* restaurant [yes, all three titles were present]
11. Outreach Coordinator and Co-founder, Reunity Resources (Contracted compost pick-up service for City of Santa Fe; collects food waste from local restaurants and public schools and then recycles into compost for sale. Also collects vegetable oil waste to recycle into Biodiesel)
12. Program Director, regional agritourism Farm Park
13. General Manager, regional Food Hub

There is a disconnect here in that she interviewed people who were owning or managing local food businesses, but not people working for farmers. The people the curriculum consultant recognized as the people doing Food System work have titles like owner, director, founder and CEO. This list excludes actual farmworkers and restaurant employees. This exclusion produces skewed understandings about what the work entails, what is expected of the employee, and how much local food knowledge, or what kinds of knowledge, is required for the work. This curriculum was allegedly intended to fulfill a gap in a liberal arts curriculum, in an academic discipline critical of globalized food systems, but it looks more like bosses of food businesses getting a training curriculum to on-board their

new employees instead. Again, student subjectivities and their needs are left out, amplifying the power structure of paternalistic mindset of both the university and of the employers.

Who was not Invited to the Table

The southwest US region of this study is approximately 50% Hispanic. The one Hispanic farmer associated with these committees had not attended any of the meetings. There were no seasonal farm workers, who are busiest during harvest, invited to this conversation about economic development and academic programming. There were no farmers from the Local Foods Coalition farmer incubation program. Hispanic faculty were not present, even though people like Dr. Kimberly Dominguez (pseudonym), a Hispanic tenured associate professor of Biology, teach workshops about foragable edible plants and traditional medicines of the region. I asked all interviewees about student involvement on these committees, and no students were invited to participate, even when a student emailed the consultant to request to be interviewed. No high school guidance counselors were included.

Existing campus resources focused on Hispanic cultural heritage were not included. Cultural Awareness and Student Achievement (CASA) is a space and program to support all students, described on its website as "a home for diversity." The converted residential home is described as a home-away-from-home for Hispanic and First Generation students, including a kitchen and student-run food bank. It hosts workshops on preserving *chicos* (corn) using a traditional *horno* oven located on campus. Students perform an annual

matanza, the traditional Navajo and Hispanic communal activity of butchering a sheep. Spanish- and English-language Cooking classes, which are also free to community members (sponsored by a federal grant administered through the Local Foods Coalition), are taught there as well[7]. Free workshops in traditional plant-based medicines (*Remedios Caseros*), indigenous philosophy, arts, music, dance and poetry are offered, often accompanied by locally-sourced food from Hispanic and Native American producers, none of whom were on the Food Studies producer committee. An interviewee suggested the university treats CASA like a Public Relations outreach rather than as an academic program that could potentially ground a Food Studies curriculum offered at a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) in the Southwest (see the Center for Regional Food Studies at the University of Arizona for contrast https://foodstudies.arizona.edu/). The CASA coordinator, a non-tenured Hispanic female faculty member, was not invited to participate in the Food Studies committees.

Additionally, the community college in this university town offers agricultural programs and arguably is better positioned to fulfill the vocational training role laid out in an academic program sparked by discussions of economic development. Their programs include aquaculture, agricultural business, landscape and horticulture design, animal science, and soil and crop sciences. There was no discussion of partnering with this community college.

[7] I volunteered with one of these classes during my field work and helped to set up this programming when I used to work at the university.

Excluding these important potential partners produced a group of people small enough and homogenous enough to make the curriculum process meet its self-imposed deadline of seven weeks. This focus on efficiency of process led to an outcome of a complete curriculum, yes, but at the cost of eliding the very perspectives that might have made the curriculum most useful and unique in that it could have represented the local experience of food from perspectives other than the White owner class who relatively recently colonized the southwest region. This paternalistic mindset might make a few success stories possible for the graduates of this program, but it seems that more is lost by leaving out the perspectives that would have enriched the program than is gained.

This chapter addresses my research question: *How does the exclusion of faculty from the Food Studies curriculum development process reveal paternalistic, neoliberal efficiency mindsets?* My analysis shows that the exclusion of these important subjectivities produces and reproduces the imbalanced power structures of Whiteness and the management class. A boundary is created between what Food Studies is as defined by the majority White committee members, faculty and business leaders, and whatever the Hispanic residents of this region, even those employed by the university, could have contributed had they been meaningfully included in the process. The inclusion of management class subjectivities and exclusion of workers' subjectivities also (re)produces paternalistic culture, a culture of deciding *for* rather than *with* the people. In Spanish, the expression *Todo por el pueblo pero sin el pueblo* captures this paternalism: Everything for the people, without the people. The phrase emerged from enlightenment France to describe absolute power maintained by the

ruler who says he is doing everything for the people, but there are no structures which allow for the people to share power (Morales, n.d.). The sovereignty of the ruler is absolute.

Shove versus Love

Faculty whom I interviewed indicated that they felt coerced by the new curriculum development process, such as when the sociology professor said she felt like the president was "shoving the new program and the new curriculum development process down [their] throats." Some of the faculty even expressed fear for their jobs if they were to rock the boat, especially the pre-tenure faculty. Among the faculty interviewed, there was a belief that the president was circumventing existing processes to get her pet project approved quickly. This *shoving* sentiment indicates a skepticism that the relationship between the faculty senate and the president's office would be reciprocal and mutually beneficial. Faculty such as Briana described how "the faculty owns the curriculum," but it was clear that the interviewees did not feel like they owned this curriculum which had been developed by an outside consultant and presented as a *fait accompli* in a faculty senate meeting.

This faculty senate meeting displayed a care for Robert's Rules of Order, but not a care for each other. During the meeting the faculty senate president openly derided a senator who questioned the process with which the Food Studies program was being developed, saying Food Studies would be a program relevant to students, unlike the questioning senator's discipline of psychology. The Food Studies proposal was on the agenda to "keep faculty abreast of new developments," as the Ag Business professor who gave the

presentation described it. When I interviewed her later, she said the presentation was part of transparency and shared governance, so faculty would not complain that this program came from out of nowhere. However, if it were truly meant to represent the work of the faculty on the Food Studies advisory committee, wouldn't they have been present for their own program's discussion? Instead, a group of farmers from the community Food Studies committee spoke passionately about the need for this type of educational programming. All of them were White farmers describing farm businesses they had inherited or developed in retirement, and while their heartfelt stories were fascinating and moving, their subjectivities are so very different from those of the students who might potentially enroll in such a program, especially if they are not inheriting a farm operation or receiving a steady stream of retirement income. This emotional appeal drew attention away from the fact that this process sidestepped the faculty-driven curriculum development process. After the final farmer spoke, the faculty senate president said by way of transition, "and I'm sure your program will reflect the Indio-Hispano farming traditions of the [region]." There was no reason to believe that the curriculum would reflect these traditions, and in fact there is no mention of traditional foodways in the course descriptions. The words "Hispanic," "Chican*" "Latin*" "Native," and "Indigenous" do not appear in the eight course syllabi or degree plan. What the degree plan did focus on were five key findings from the consultant's interviews with regional food business owners: 1) "The Business of Food is Business," 2) "Communication is Key," 3) "Hands-on Work with Food," 4) "Everyone does Everything," and 5) "Passion is a Job Requirement."

None of the people interviewed for this project spoke of Indio-Hispano farming traditions, even though that knowledge is held by members of the community and at least a few members of the faculty. The goodwill necessary to collaborate is absent. The appearance of collaboration with diverse stakeholders without actually including historically minoritized people at the table produces and reproduces the idea that *farmers* are White men, and *farmworkers* are not. It produces and reproduces the idea that the university, the White faculty at the university specifically, serve the broader community for its benefit, while explicitly excluding members from the broader community from participation in setting the agenda and the curriculum. One seemingly insurmountable barrier is that of language of instruction: Historically/Predominantly White Institutions, even when federally funded as a Hispanic Serving Institution like this one, are not compelled to offer any courses in languages other than English, and because this structure is unquestioned, non-English speaking community members, or people less comfortable communicating in English (as their second or third language) are systematically excluded from their place at the table.

Conclusions

I set out to investigate the emergence of the Food Studies major, and I discovered a series of meetings. Sometimes there is a meeting *before* the meeting, where contexts are set; people who are perceived as the key players talk about what they want to get out of the project, sometimes forging long term working relationships and sometimes not. Sometimes people on the committee are not invited to the meeting before the meeting. Sometimes people agree to appear to participate in a meeting which makes it look like democratic

decision making is happening, that governance is being shared, that their expertise (as faculty, as food producers) is valued, that their credibility is valued, when it may be the *appearance* of group decision-making and considering diverse perspectives that is valued.

My second research question for this project asked, *How does the exclusion of faculty from the Food Studies curriculum development process reveal paternalistic, neoliberal efficiency mindsets?* I note that some people are still excluded from a place at the table, including those who have experience with non-White local food traditions, even those who have higher education credentials of terminal degrees and tenured employment within the university. Spanish-speaking members of the community, Hispanic people in general, and representatives from indigenous communities were also excluded from a place at the table, even as the faculty senate president blithely commented that the new Food Studies program would probably address Indio and Hispano regional food traditions. The neoliberal efficiency mindset privileges speed of curriculum development over other considerations like representing diverse perspectives, even when the diversity is based in different academic disciplines run by mostly White people. The idea that universities are meritocracies where the best qualified people find their ways into decision-making roles wears thin when we see that sometimes decision-makers are responding to opportunities and crises with solutions which require the least time, least money, or least effort.

Crisis and chaos made the Food Studies program proposal possible. Declining enrollment and an accrediting agency demanding changes in course offerings stimulated creative thinking on the part of the president to craft a new major. However, instead of

navigating the existing systems of program development through the faculty senate, a workaround, “a new process for approving a new program,” was utilized, while programs that were proposed years ago languish without a call to vote or funding to implement. Those programs wait in a line that can be cut into with this new program approval process that is being piloted with the Food Studies program. The sudden departure of the Vice President of Academic Affairs in late 2016 removed a barrier which might have demanded more deliberation and participation of faculty.

The *how* of this partnership is visible in the contexts of who were invited to participate. Faculty from departments with some tangential connection to food, such as biology and exercise science, were pulled in to participate, but their participation was limited to a very specific task of identifying how their own departments might participate in the new major, how their department’s FTE might be impacted by a new major either adding to their bottom line, or, as is the case for departments not included, how the new major might take away from their department’s relevance. This narrow focus pitted department against department, and among the faculty there were arguments about which courses ought to be required, and even if one of the courses needed to have a prerequisite departmental course required as well, giving the department twice the benefit of FTE generated by the new major. Given that the university was actively evaluating departments for potential elimination, the faculty senate president’s comment to the senator questioning the new major and new approval process seems especially cruel, implying this his department was irrelevant and

potentially on the chopping block. Perhaps he was even suggesting that the senator's questioning the process might impact the survival of his department.

On the community side, food producers were invited from specific food businesses: White-owned successful multi-generation farm operations and a retirement farm. Those farmers who were busy in the fields during harvest were invited but were not able to participate due to the time frame of the program development. It appeared an afterthought that the farmers were invited to give their input about the kinds of training they thought the Food Studies program should include.

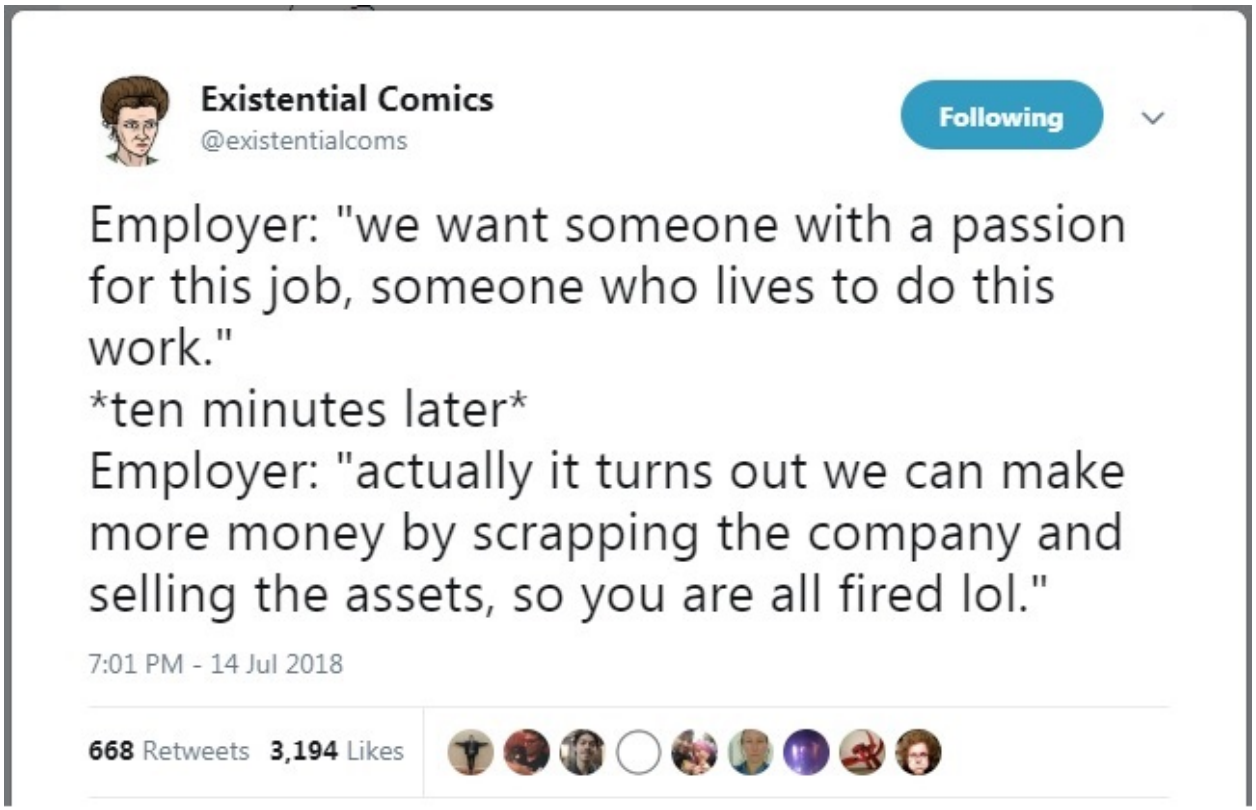
Finally, because of the disconnects between the types of employers interviewed for the Food Studies courses (Food Bank director, restaurateur), the content of existing courses (biology, exercise science), and the local farmers' needs for on-farm help, it looks as if the program was designed more specifically for the university's convenience (quick deployment, low cost) rather than for the needs of the farmers. Students were never included in the planning of the program. The local community college was also not invited to the table despite their complementary programs.

Paternalistic mindsets made this degree program proposal possible. At least one student emailed the consultant requesting to be interviewed, but not a single student was interviewed. There was no focus group or conversation with the high school guidance counselors or other key stakeholders. Rather than meaningfully engaging with people who would be impacted by the new program, people were either included in very limited low-

agency ways or were not included at all. The comment that some of these new Food Studies workers might be like “day laborers” reinforces the idea that the power held by the owners of the businesses and farms would remain in place while commodified interchangeable people could be brought in on an as-needed basis to serve the needs of the owner class. The absence of student perspectives, the quickness of the process, and the lack of meaningful partnership with other entities in the community indicates that the university may have been focused on the short term goal of generating revenue in a budget crisis rather than planning for the needs of the students or of the community, revealing a paternalistic, neoliberal efficiency mindset which prevented them from choosing the long-term investment. In the next chapter I delve further into the neoliberal efficiency mindset and its commodification of the needs, desires and goals of key stakeholders in order to sustain dominant power structures.

Chapter 6: Commodifying Passion: Love for Sale

Figure 6.1 @existentialcoms (2018).



This dissertation explores the problem of Institutions of Higher Education having a history of reproducing the power structures they have inherited, perpetuating raced, classed and gendered inequities. In previous chapters I used feminist analysis to critique how practices of inclusion and exclusion during the curriculum development process reproduce inherited privilege, through research questions which addressed how these practices of exclusion support traditional power structures and reveal paternalistic, neoliberal efficiency mindsets. In this final analysis chapter I address my final research question: *How did the*

Food Studies curriculum development process commodify the needs, desires, and goals of key stakeholders, especially those who have been historically minoritized (non-White, non-wealthy, non-male), in order to sustain dominant power structures? I examine the concept of *passion*, which emerged from my interviews with people involved with the development of the Food Studies program at the university. The concept of commodification as a neoliberal tactic is the framework through which I analyzed these stories of passion.

In this feminist analysis of the texts and interviews, four categories of stakeholders emerged: university faculty on the Food Studies faculty advisory committee, students as potential local food employees, farm and food business owners, and university administrators. For each category, I describe dominant narratives which emerged through these texts, the resistances to these narratives, and the power structures exposed through analysis. For each of these stakeholder subjectivities I end by discussing what the tensions between these narratives produced or how these power structures function.

Briefly, the analysis revealed how passion was commodified to leverage participation. When one is passionate about something, one is vulnerable to disappointment and even suffering because of it. Passion was also used to *exclude* some potential participants. While it of course is not possible to include all possible stakeholders in decision-making, dominant power structures make some peoples' needs easier to ignore than others in order to develop the curriculum "efficiently," i.e. privileging the speed of developing the program over more democratic processes that would be more inclusive of diverse perspectives.

Many people spoke of passion, yet the structures of the committees, for example, seemed instead to take their passions and transform them to indifference. I use *passion* in this analysis in the conventional sense of strong feeling and also in its etymological Latin root meaning *suffering*, as in the passion of Christ. Professors spoke of their passion for their academic subject, for example, and also expressed the kinds of sacrifices, such as of time, they were willing to make for their passion. I argue that this willingness to suffer for the things people care for is leveraged in neoliberal systems to force compliance, either with the threat of removing the desired object (as in losing a job) or to pressure workers to work "above and beyond" to maintain access to the things they need.

In Chapter 4, I introduced commodification in the globalized food commodity sense, to describe food products converted into fungible units on the global market, erasing any value that a local economy might keep by engaging local producers and consumers to "buy local" and keep more wealth in the region. The local producers on the Food Studies committee desire consumers who resist this kind of commodification, consumers who take into consideration how their food dollars spent locally buy more than just the food but also support a system that keeps the region's farmers in business. In this chapter I use commodification in a more specific neoliberal sense, based on the helpful framework provided by Sara Farris (2012) in her essay *Neoliberalism, Migrant Women, and the Commodification of Care.* She describes how migrant women in Europe are not experiencing the same fluctuations of the labor market as their male counterparts because of the *commodification of care work.* Graeber (2018) notes that academics function at the

intersection of the care economy and the creative economy. Farris explains that care work is feminized labor, and appears to operate by different rules than the way traditional (i.e. male centered) labor economics have worked. She writes that "one of neoliberalism's most noticeable consequences... is the commodification of care and domestic, or reproductive labor, and their construction as distinctively gendered and racialized labor markets" (para. 6). She concludes that female care workers function differently in labor markets because they do not function as a reserve army of laborers as male workers do because care work is "distinctively nonviable for relocation; likely to grow due to the rising demand of a rapidly aging population; and [has] a strong "affective" component making [workers] less disposable and automatable" (para. 8). I introduce this conceptual framework here because of the similarities to the stakeholders in this study: affectively, academic and local food care (or passion) work is less automatable, rendering its workers less interchangeable, and local food workers and university employees are also nonviable for relocation as they do place-based work. The neoliberal forces of treating people as economic cogs in the machine are slightly resisted by this care/passion work, and this tension animates my analysis.

Many people experience working towards what they believe was a common goal, accommodating little bumps along the road in the spirit of cooperation, only to later realize that the other parties were not ever going to accommodate them. In the interviews with people planning the Food Studies program, some chose to leave the project altogether, and others spoke of how fear of future consequences such as not receiving tenure caused them to

persist in the endeavor. As of 2018, two people I interviewed have left the project and the university. The president, whom I was not able to interview, has also resigned.

Faculty on the Food Studies Advisory Committee

Many of the faculty interviewed for this project described a passion for their students and their academic subject. Some faculty described the work they did out of the love of their students as the most meaningful part of their job: working one-on-one with a student, serving as a faculty advisor, celebrating a graduation. All of them seemed passionate about their academic subject and wanted to use their expertise to contribute to the new Food Studies program.

I was eager to interview the Sociology professor on the Food Studies committee because I imagined that she would have a lot to say about the development of this program. She teaches a course called "Environment and Society," and her definition of Food Studies is "food studies is for anybody interested in the food industry outside of the corporate world." I expected that she would be passionate about the subject. However, her demeanor when I entered her office was warm towards me personally--we had been friendly when I was employed there--but became cool as we started the interview. As she spoke about the evolution of the program, I could sense a dullness about it, a cynicism. She shared that her role on the committee was "marginal," and said she was "not sure how useful this interview would be for [my] project." The course she teaches was to be the only course with a critical perspective on the food industry. She was also concerned about whether the Food Studies program should be developed at all, as it might decrease enrollment in existing courses and

majors. She noted that it was not focused so much on attracting new students but rather "poaching students from existing programs." She was also concerned about the "top-down" development of this program, rather than growing out of the existing more democratic structures for faculty to introduce new curricula.

She saw this program as more of a "PR move" for the university than as developing a substantive academic program. "There is desire from the community for Food Studies," she acknowledges, "due to public concerns about the obesity epidemic and broader awareness through documentaries like *Fed Up* and *Food, Inc*." She acknowledges this interest from the community, but her demeanor showed an ambivalence about *her* interest. Her body language looked defeated, and I felt like the interview was floundering. I looked around her office and changed the subject by asking her about an eco-feminism book on her shelf. In that moment, her eyes lit up, and she spoke animatedly about her research, and even opened up a document on her computer, turning the monitor to show me a chapter she is writing. Clearly this was a person with an expertise and a passion for her subject, but this energy seemed to drain away when discussing the new Food Studies program and her role in it.

Another faculty member I interviewed also was most animated when talking about his work with students, but he described a concern with the university not having a culture that supports interdisciplinary projects. He was the youngest of the interviewees and the only one who has not yet achieved tenure. His pre-tenure status causes him to "not want to upset the apple cart" or push too hard on the agenda of his own program. He shared with me a longer term plan of developing a masters degree program within his department, and he was biding

his time until the right opportunity to propose his plan. The chair of his department had been serving on the committee, but she quit and suggested he take her place instead. When I asked him about the four emphases of the Food Studies program, he was only able to list the two which had courses from his department, indicating to me that he was not very deeply engaged in developing the degree plan. He described a competitive culture on the committee and a sensation of not wanting to "be voted off of the island" by having his department's course cut, that there was a "dog eat dog culture," and that innovations were met with resistance because "people were set in their ways." He also described a concern that the program was "short sighted" because it came from administration; a program needed to have "faculty who were passionate about it."

Faculty (and administrators) I interviewed described how the proposed major came from the president's office, and how the core courses for the major were established early on in the decision making. There were to be two from the business department, one from biology, one from human performance and physical education, and one from sociology. The sociologist referenced the competitive nature of adding an academic program that might "poach" students from other programs, without a net gain of student enrollment for the institution, which could destabilize existing departments and their relative power against a not-yet-existing department potentially staffed with adjuncts rather than (more expensive and tenure-protected) full-time faculty. There were power dynamics within the faculty advisory committee as members argued for whose classes ought to be required, with the business department prevailing that it would have two required courses in the degree plan while the

other departments had only one. One committee member described it as a territorial battle for full-time equivalency, FTE, a metric for number of students enrolled in a department's courses. This sort of relative advantage was important in the context of Fall 2017 budget discussions about which departments were under-utilized and at risk of being eliminated. As it turned out, some departments *were* eliminated in spring 2018, with several tenured faculty positions eliminated as well.

I also note that the president cherry-picked which departments would be represented on the Food Studies faculty advisory committee, and that she mostly selected department chairs. It also seemed strange to me that they happened to all be women (until the one non-tenured male faculty member was subbed in for a departing female department chair). By the president choosing department chairs plus a self-described "marginalized" sociologist and an untenured faculty member, the committee may have disproportionate representation of people likely to be agreeable to the president's directives, rather than representing a more lively debate which might include arguments against the proposed program. The two non-chair faculty I described above both shared reservations about the program with me privately in their offices; I got the sense that they did not express these concerns in the larger group, not wanting to "upset the apple cart" or because they saw their role on the committee as "marginal."

The department chairs interviewed also described some concerns about the proposed program, especially that faculty were upset that they were excluded from the process. "The faculty feel that they own the curriculum," explained the biology department chair, and "the

way that this program was not faculty-driven has been challenging." She also acknowledged that "faculty have ideas [for curriculum] but they are not valued." It may be that as a department chair, her focus was to preserve the future of the department during the crisis of departmental cuts rather than a focus on creating a good Food Studies program. For instance, the biology department was game for participating in both this new Food Studies initiative as well as the partnership with the state agricultural university to offer SSU biology faculty as on-site tutors for SSU students who enroll in distance education agriculture classes through the other university. It appeared that the chair was eager to try *any* initiatives suggested by the president in order to save her department from the chopping block. I didn't get a chance to interview any biology faculty, but I wondered how they felt being offered as tutors for the off-site agriculture classes, and how much input they had in that decision. It may have been a decision made *for* them rather than *with* them.

It was not common knowledge among the rest of the faculty that this Food Studies program was being considered, as I discovered from speaking to faculty across campus at a going away party I attended for one of the faculty who was leaving. The faculty invited to the advisory committee were mostly department chairs, all of whom were White women. I noted that there were SSU faculty who were also farmers and ranchers, but none of them were included on this committee. I also noted that Hispanic faculty, such as the Biology professor with expertise in local plants used for centuries as food and medicine, were not included. The Hispanic director of the CASA program, which hosts a student food bank, a demonstration *horno* oven, a *matanza* harvest of meat for the food bank, and bilingual

Spanish-language cooking and nutrition courses was not included. It seemed as if expediency with minimum push back was desired in order to move quickly to capitalize on the food studies moment, and more diverse perspectives would have hindered that efficiency with discussions that might have asked difficult questions about representation and inclusion. While many faculty are passionate about their work, it seems that some who could have participated may have been excluded *because* of their passion, that they may have pushed back on the process which bypassed faculty input or the product, the Food Studies curriculum itself.

To conclude this section, let us review the dominant narratives, resistances, power structures and what was produced through the faculty subjectivities involved in the development of the Food Studies program. A dominant narrative emerged of faculty having passion about their students and their academic subject. However, resistances emerged such as complaints about the top-down process of this project's development, "dog eat dog" competition against other departments for which courses get included in the degree plan, an absence of a culture of collaboration necessary for a successful interdisciplinary program, and a sense that students would be "poached" from existing departments rather than drawn as new students to the university. Pitting faculty departments against each other fulfills the neoliberal goal of framing competition as the default human mode, rather than alternatives like cooperation. Passionate faculty are seen as problematic as they may ask too many questions or otherwise delay the project, so docile indifferent faculty are preferred. Faculty membership is so arbitrary that a member could drop out and easily be replaced, and the new

member's absence of knowledge about fundamentals of the degree plan produced no difference in the curricular outcome. He served as a placeholder, an interchangeable fungible commodity.

Power structures at play included that by the composition of the committee, faculty on the committee had limited meaningful involvement with the curriculum development, other than arguing for how many courses from their home department would be included in the degree plan. Fear of "upsetting the apple cart" meant that at least some faculty feared their one course might be "voted off the island" if they spoke against the process, and their department would potentially lose FTE in the shell game of students drawn from existing departments into the new Food Studies major. These faculty had so little meaningful involvement that they did not even necessarily understand the whole degree plan, only the parts in which their classes were included. Another power structure to consider was the emphasis on department chairs, who may have been highly motivated to preserve their department's relevance during a time of departmental cuts. A third power structure to consider is tenure: the pre-tenure committee member was very keen not to do anything that might damage his department's standing with the president nor his personal standing should any apple-cart-upsetting lead to a negative impact on his future tenure status. Tenure is also a consideration in that the existing departments which might be cut are composed of tenured and tenurable faculty, but the newly proposed department may instead be composed of adjunct or other non-tenurable staffing structures (i.e. an exempt program coordinator who

teaches), relinquishing even more faculty power in the adoption of the new major and new staffing structure.

Finally, what do these tensions between narratives produce? Compliance is produced as fear of departmental cuts were an explicit threat. A coherent degree plan designed by an outside consultant was produced, rather than by the faculty committee members, because of an absence of animated debate and deliberation by passionate faculty invested in the Food Studies program. Ignorance of the contents of the degree plan is produced as the committee members know and care about only the aspects of the degree plan which impact their department, and their meaningful participation in the development of the curriculum was curtailed by their limited access and role. An indifference about the outcome of whether this Food Studies major will come to fruition is also produced because of the limited access and role and the restricted kind of passion allowed to be represented by the faculty serving on the committee: it is allowable to be passionate about one's discipline, but that passion gets directed towards staying within lanes on the committee to preserve the survival of the department. All of these products are consistent with neoliberal commodification of the faculty's contributions.

A perception that faculty were involved with the process is also produced, even though that participation was restricted to very few people without meaningful engagement. Complicity is also produced, in that the chairs and faculty involved with the Food Studies program development are circumventing the existing faculty senate process for developing curriculum, and they did not resist the president's insistence that they use this

new process as an alternative, rather than reforming the existing faculty senate process. Relative advantage is also produced for the departments willing to work with the president, to be in her good graces, especially when there are decisions being made about cutting departments. Those departments more willing to work with the president on these initiatives may be more likely to survive the cuts. Competition among departments was also produced, as faculty may not have been able to identify why certain departments were singled out for inclusion in the president's initiatives, so there may have also been an "in-group" and "out-groups" produced by these tensions as well. Many faculty felt as if they were kept in the dark about the new Food Studies program proposal.

Finally, women in leadership positions were produced by this Food Studies proposal process as it happened to be mostly women who were invited to serve on the committee. However, these women leaders may have been chosen due to their agreeable cooperative nature and the power structure of requiring continued good graces with the president as decisions about departmental eliminations were about to happen. O'Meara (2018) writes that women in academia spend more time than men doing time-consuming and underappreciated service work such as service on committees. This type of leadership opportunity may in fact disempower those leaders. It reminds me of the similar way that White women have historically been enforcers of power structures such as Jim Crow laws (Stoner, 2018) and other power structures from which they may benefit. White women do the reproductive labor of White supremacy.

Students as Potential Local Food Employees

Students were not included in the Food Studies program development process, despite a clear campus interest in food security, as evidenced by a 2016 Food Security survey and a resulting campus food bank put in place in 2017. However, students were discussed in the degree plan proposal presented to the Faculty Senate. It reads in part "the degree is intentionally designed to foster development of students to, not only have the skills and knowledge needed for the field, but to also to be [sic] helpful, team players, respectful, and culturally competent." The paternalistic tone of this passage frames students as passive learners preparing to be good employees of existing businesses.

Recalling my former student Reyes, his career interest was to do something important with his life, like grow food. His concerns about structural barriers are one of the reasons why I do this research. He identified barriers such as access to land and water rights as well as curriculum functioning as a gatekeeper, such as the algebra classes all developmental math students are required to master, even if their eventual majors do not require that type of math. Indeed, in a study I conducted at SSU in 2014, I asked psychology faculty about what math skills a student needed to have in order to enroll in the challenging statistics course required for the major. They identified less than half of the pre-algebra course topics as necessary for success in the course. Cicekli (2013) also found that the majority of employers of college graduates preferred statistical math skills rather than algebra-based skills. Reyes' passion for growing food was stymied by his struggles to pass the math requirements, and he eventually left the university without a degree.

Developing a degree plan is challenging in that it must balance the needs of the students with (and sometimes against) the needs of the institution. Not all students in the proposed Food Studies program may be interested in the sociology course, for example, but agreements were made about distributing FTE across departments so every existing department gets a share of the general education course enrollment in order to balance section offerings with existing instructional staff. When I look at the Food Studies degree plan, I see what students might perceive as an incoherent list of courses without a clear purpose linking them together. Why a biology course and a sociology course? Was there a coherent theoretical framework about food systems tying those classes together? Given that each faculty member on the planning committee gave me a different definition of Food Studies, it is likely that answer is no. When I asked the vice president about student perspectives about the Food Studies program, she responded with a concern for the *parents* of students getting their money's worth. It seemed that the institution was not focused on students' perspectives at all.

As noted in chapter one, the access barriers to land and water rights cannot be addressed by education credential. If a student is not in a situation where he or she might inherit these assets, that person may forever remain an employee of someone else's food business. The attitudes towards these potential employee/graduates by the employers surveyed focused on potential employees having a *passion* for local food, but not a passion borne of ownership of the farm but of the benefits to the local economy when food is purchased from local farmers, a benefit to the commons that these young employees do not

see realized for themselves individually. The employer requires employees who are passionate about telling the story of how the food is produced, its added value, but the employee/graduate is at risk of working hard to sell the story to enrich their employers without any future ownership, job security, or profit sharing enriching themselves.

An important distinction I detect is that local food employers are focusing on employing college graduates, rather than farm laborers who do not have a degree. The National Young Farmer Survey (Ackoff, Bahrenburg, & Lusher Shute, 2017) notes that 70% of farmers under age 40 have completed degrees beyond high school, with 55% holding bachelors degrees. It appears there is a sort of gentrification of farm labor, with 15% of the young farmer survey respondents identifying as hired farm workers, and an additional 9% own land but also work as a hired hand on another person's farm. 55% of young farmers are earning less than $10,000/year in their operation, and 60% of the estimated three million farm workers in the U.S. are in poverty (Ackoff, Bahrenburg, & Lusher Shute, 2017, p. 48). These degree-holding farm workers belie the notion that a degree leads to higher earnings. They may be relying on other financial supports to make ends meet, upending the idea that wages from their labor pays for their needs. Ironically, *educated farm laborer* is a role only available to those who can afford it, producing either heavily student debt-burdened farm laborer or the phenomenon of trust fund young farmers.

A category with power dynamics worth considering is that of race: almost all of the farm owners involved in developing this program were White. The one Hispanic farmer on the committee was unable to attend any of the meetings. One of the White farmers described

how she hired a student-athlete, a football player, to help out at the farm, and was pleased that his response to how long he could stay that day was "as long as you need me, Miss Tessa." DeCuir and Dixson (2004) describe how students of color are sometimes further minoritized as "student-athletes" rather than being seen as students in their full capacity. The term *student-athlete* is sometimes code for Black students, especially at Historically White Institutions like this one. I cannot be certain of the ethnicity of the student, but I checked the Fall 2017 football roster for his position, and 7 of the 11 players were men of color. What Tessa may have taken as an industrious commitment to work long hours on her farm to get a job done also looks like an exploitation of a brown body in a field. Collegiate athletes are often required to balance their studies with other demands on their time for practices, weight training, and mandatory study sessions. That he would offer to stay as long as necessary makes it seem as if he could prioritize his work off campus over the athletic requirements which make his scholarship possible, pitting the demands of his coaches against the demands of his off-campus employer. Navigating these two *passions* may cause stress for any student. The Food Studies degree plan also requires unpaid internships as part of the senior block, which creates a potential third demand on his time, a third person vying for his passionate commitment, the instructor supervising the internship. The student must perform multiple displays of passionate loyalty to maintain relational access to job, school, and sport team.

To conclude this section, let us consider dominant narratives about potential students in the Food Studies program. There is student interest in food-related issues, specifically food security and learning how to feed themselves, as some of them described in the food

security survey of 2016. Students however were not included in the development of the academic program, and the way the institution describes them as needing to learn to be "helpful [and] respectful" appears very paternalistic. The Food Studies program is framed as an employer/employee problem to be solved, that the employers need trained employees, and that the Food Studies classes can address this need. But even this focus on the curriculum helping students get jobs was refocused on *parents*, presumably the funders of their adult children's education, getting their money's worth from the programming.

What these dominant narratives leave out are that 1) not all students have parents who are paying their tuition; 2) students may have aspirations to be more than employees of others--many likely want to own the means of production, to own land, water rights and their own food businesses. 3) Some elements of the curriculum, such as requiring algebra of all students even though the majority of employers prefer graduates with other math skills (Cicekli, 2013), serve as a barrier keeping them from the education and the careers they want. And finally, 4) a passion borne of ownership cannot be reproduced in employees who will not benefit from the growth of the brand the way owners, or owners' heirs, will benefit. It is a commodification of their passions to expect these employees to display a passion for the farmer's brand that they may not be able to muster.

These dominant narratives and resistances expose power structures of ownership of land and water rights, which are unaddressable by curriculum alone. Some students may inherit a water right, and others will not, and no academic degree changes that power

structure. That inheritance power structure, along with racial and social class power structures produce several things.

One thing that these power structures produce is students who are vulnerable to conflicting demands of their studies, their sport, their off-campus work, and their required internship. Another thing produced by the Food Studies project is the emergence of a second type of agriculture education. The first type of agriculture education is the kind that has been experiencing declining enrollments in recent decades as children of farmers have resisted taking over their parents' farm operations (Barth, 2018), the conventional agriculture education offered by land grant universities designed for managing an existing farm operation. Two of the professional farmers interviewed for this project earned their agriculture science degrees from the state's land grant agricultural university, and proudly told me about it during their interviews. One even indicated that he would not want his own children to attend SSU, prompting me to wonder for whom this program is designed. I now believe it is designed for the second kind of agriculture education student: the Food Studies program is meant for non-owners, the emerging educated farmworker (Ackoff, Bahrenburg, & Lusher Shute, 2017; Ortiz, 2015). This Whiter college-educated farmworker contrasts with historically non-college-educated farmworkers. Both are entitled to a safe work environment and fair labor practices, but the second group feels entitled to demand these practices, and may be more recognizable as deserving of safety and fairness than the millions of mostly non-White farmworkers earning poverty wages. Perhaps the visibility of the new type of farmworker produced through these discourses of Food Studies will bring the safe

and fair working environment closer to actualization. An exciting development is that the Indigenous farm workers featured in Seth Holmes' (2013) book *Fresh fruit, broken bodies: Migrant farmworkers in the United States* negotiated a union contract with their employer, the first new farm worker union contract in 25 years (Bacon, 2017).

Farm and Food Business Owners

All of the farmers interviewed displayed a passion for the work they did, taking pride in growing the food that feeds their families and the community, creating meaningful local jobs, and in the case of the organic farmers, an almost religious passion for saving the world through regenerative agriculture by rebuilding the soil. One farmer described the soil health advocates as evangelizing this farming technique to the other regional farmers to help them not only improve their bottom line by selling higher priced organic products but improving the environment for future generations.

The types of farmers invited to serve on the Food Studies planning committee engage in direct marketing of their food products, which is a relationship-dependent model. One farmer, Ken, talked about the importance of cultivating relationships with buyers of his food, whether they were retailers like the food co-op grocery store or chefs who featured his heritage grains and sausages on their menus. He relied on the customer having a good experience of his product, and wanted employees who could listen for feedback about quality problems and even suggestions for new products. For example, he wanted the delivery person to pay attention to how the chef was serving the sausages, and to report back complaints if they were too spicy for the restaurant's customers so he might develop new

sausage recipes in response. Ken even teared up during our interview: he apologized for being emotional as he described his land being farmed by six generations of his family, and now the lifestyle of the farmer was being eroded by globalization. He was working to preserve a legacy for his children, not only in the value of the farm they will inherit but in the quality of the water and the environment that all future generations will inherit if farmers would adopt more environmentally conscious agricultural practices.

These passions paint a picture of farm owners' struggle against change, a changing agricultural economy, a changing planet, and the changing preferences of their young family members. The average age of U.S. principal farm operators is 59 years (US Department of Agriculture, 2014), and many of their children and grandchildren are not interested in the hard work and high risk of farming. The USDA Economic Research Service projects 2018 median farm income to be *negative* $1,316 (2018). Farmers like Ken are looking beyond family relations for people who will care about their farm as much as they do. They expect these employees to display the same value system they have, when it comes to describing the value of their brand to the consumer. The literal brand of these products is the patronymic last name of the farmer, such as Garcia potatoes or Smith sausages. The employees may reproduce the passion for their employers' brand, but they are not themselves reproduced with the brand, as a male heir to the farm and the wealth it represents. Employees are expected to be passionate for the brand of the farm, but may feel an indifference when they realize their work enriches the employer's family without trickling down to them. These

producers are committed to a regenerative model of agriculture, but they are also extracting value from their employees to create wealth for the children who *will* inherit the farm.

Despite USDA programs to cultivate more diverse young farmers, 96% of principle operators are White (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 2014). Ackoff, Bahrenburg, & Lusher Shute (2017) note some other trends however. Farmers under age 40 are 13% non-White, and 60% of young farmers identify as women with an additional 3% indicating a gender other than male or female. These young farmers are also selling directly to consumers and are strongly committed to environmental stewardship, with 75% of current young farmers describing their practices as "sustainable," and 63% describing their farming as "organic." Three-quarters are also first generation farmers, confirming Ken's account of his struggle to find younger family members willing to work on his farm.

I also must speak of farmers who were not interviewed for the project: Hispanic farmers who were not invited to the committee, farmers who do commodity agriculture rather than the direct model agriculture represented by the local food movement farmers, and Guatemalan (Indigenous Maya) farmers who tend their crops in the community gardens. Also excluded are the perspectives of farmworkers, some of whom live year-round in the community and work at other jobs like as a crew member at a fast food restaurant after the harvest season. Their exclusion helped decision-makers produce the Food Studies proposal with neoliberal efficiency. Their exclusion also produced a coherence of message, in that all farmers interviewed for the project agreed that direct market agriculture was what was

needed for economic development in the region. This coherence of messaging leaves out the commodity agriculture paradigm shared by the majority of farmers in this region.

The dominant narratives of direct market agriculture, relationship-centered business and inheritable legacies framed the food producers' perspectives. Left out of these narratives are the legacy of *exclusion* which made the White-owned farms possible: White-only educational legacies, White-only homesteading act legacies and documented reports of local agricultural agents denying service to non-White farmers. Ackoff, Bahrenburg, & Lusher Shute (2017) chronicle the lawsuits which have been settled between the USDA and non-White farmers, and they share the story of one African-American farmer who eventually lost his farm and home of 20 years:

> The good old boy net had an unwritten system. If you walked in the [agriculture agency office] and you were black, the first thing they did was close the books. And they said no to anything that you asked from that point on. They said they didn't have applications. If you got the application, they wouldn't tell you how to fill it out. And then, when you finally got it filled out and turned it in to them, then they hit you, "Oops, we're out of money." (p. 19)

Power structures are exposed through examining these dominant narratives and the elided narrative of the legacy of exclusion. These power structures include racism, sexism and classism. Farms cannot sustain negative income year after year without other quietly invisible power structures such as crop insurance, grazing allotments, conservation payments, and off-farm income. These power structures produce the idea that farmers are White men,

self-made through their hard work, eliding these invisible supports which make their successes possible. My research question for this analysis has been *How did the Food Studies curriculum development process commodify the needs, desires, and goals of key stakeholders, especially those who have been historically minoritized (non-White, non-wealthy, non-male), in order to sustain dominant power structures?* My purpose for this project has been to critique how practices of inclusion and exclusion during the curriculum development process reproduce inherited privilege. The needs of non-White, non-owner farm laborers and non-male people have been ignored or actively shoved aside in order to (re)produce the White male farm owner's supremacy in the food system, and this Food Studies curriculum does not disrupt this narrative, but instead amplifies it. That it was mostly White women who served on a committee which reproduced White male farm owner supremacy in the food system is a continuation of the phenomenon of White women doing the reproductive labor of upholding and reinforcing the structures of White male supremacy (Picower, 2009; Stoner, 2008).

The University Administrators

It is more difficult for me to describe the university administration's position on the Food Studies program as passionate; however, there was certainly *interest* for financially sustaining the university, generating revenue, being perceived as cultivating relationships with farmers, being perceived as innovative and supporting local economic development, and being perceived as responsive to community need. The university seemed to lose this interest though when they offered the consultant an adjunct role to teach in the program, and

she refused because it paid $10/hour, which was less than her hourly childcare costs. The Food Studies program was described to me as being on hold by several interviewees in Fall 2017, and the plan to use grant funds to support the program had not yet been communicated to the university grant writer. In March of 2018 the president and champion of the program resigned, and when the vice president was asked about the status of the Food Studies program after the resignation, she answered that it was indefinitely on hold.

Resistances to these narratives of financial sustainability and revenue generation include the faculty's concerns about eroding faculty participation in the curriculum process and the outright circumventing of established procedures whereby faculty would be the initiators of the curriculum. The power structure exposed by this elided narrative includes the precarity faculty experienced knowing that their departments and positions were on the chopping block. The fear of losing one's job produced the compliance necessary for the faculty committee to "advise" on this new curriculum that they had only a nominal role in creating. Indeed, an outside consultant was hired to develop the curriculum and degree plan, instead of SSU faculty.

Conclusion

Commodity agriculture is one of the structures that the farmers and ranchers on the Food Studies committee members resisted, instead advocating for a localized food economy in which consumers know their farmers and prioritize supporting the local economy over other considerations such as lowest price. The resistance to the commodity agriculture narrative also considers how agricultural practices might instead be regenerative, making the

soil, for instance, more vibrant with each planting season as the practices themselves create greater soil biodiversity and resilience.

Relationships can also be extractive or regenerative. When an individual or individuals acting on behalf of an organization seek to foster relationships with other entities without care for improving those others, they can instead be extractive, creating a superficial sense of relationship which does not concern itself with the improvement of both parties. For example, consider the relationship between Tessa and the student-athlete. Her desire to have him working dawn to dusk is at odds with his needs for balance, and his dependence on her for employment might lead to exploitation rather than mutual benefit. Regenerative relationships involve commitments by both parties that they are each being improved by the relationship, cultivating trust and respect.

An extractive relationship between entities, such as a university and a group of farmers, might seem like both sides are trying to maximize their gains without regard for the other party. It may look like commodifying stakeholders' needs, desires and goals on multiple levels, not unlike the commodity agriculture the farmers initially sought an education program to redress. Employees appear to become not partners in the project but a labor resource to be extracted and exploited to build the value of the farm owner's brand.

The regenerative agriculture narrative produces hope that food producers are building a new system that will grow food in a way that regenerates the land and creates equitable labor relationships. Older farmers are overwhelmingly White and male and most work within a system that generates negative revenue; they are also nearing the end of their active

farming days and are anxious about who will take over their farming operations as many of their children and grandchildren do not want to do farm work. Younger farmers are eager to enact their visions for growing food with more sustainable practices, and they face challenges of student debt, access to land, access to affordable health care, and many others.

The university's attempt to develop the Food Studies program initially produced hope that a community-oriented solution was emerging. However, it also produced indifference as committee participants discovered that their expertise was not being valued so much as commodified to push through the initiative without much democratic deliberation. The process also produced fear for some who worried that their academic departments and jobs might be on the chopping block if the Food Studies program gained traction and drew students away from other existing programs.

The Food Studies curriculum may have also produced a new understanding of what farmworkers can look like: college-educated. However, these new farmworkers also experience low-wages, debt burden, precarity and healthcare access vulnerability. When Whiter more privileged subjectivities become visible as farmworkers, it may produce new awareness for people who have been indifferent to the challenges of non-White farmworkers.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This concluding chapter describes the significance of the study as well as a summary of key findings in the three analysis chapters. I revisit the conceptual framework and methodology and their effectiveness and implications. I discuss the limitations of the study. The chapter concludes with recommendations for future research and practice.

Significance of the Study

In the introduction to this study, I wrote that its significance is grounded in examining practices of exclusion of diverse perspectives. I noted that institutions of higher education which are responsive to the changing needs of their communities will better serve their communities. Neoliberal forces work against diversity in that exclusion of diverse perspectives makes organizations chug along with Taylor-esque *efficiency*, whether or not they *effectively* address educational needs. Those who are excluded from access to higher education resources are framed as *choosing* to opt out of them, rather than naming that an educational program has been designed specifically to exclude, reinforcing that some students' lives are considered collateral damage in the name of efficiency. My project focused on curriculum development as a moment where choices of inclusion and exclusion play out, exposing power structures which perpetuate raced, classed, and gendered inequalities. I posited that designing for efficiency might mean excluding stakeholders whose perspectives and needs would slow down the process, meaning that a deliverable of a curriculum can be achieved, but it may only serve those students easiest to teach, from populations who are already privileged. Indeed I found that the university was able to create

the curriculum, but the curriculum appears to represent what food business owners would like to have new employees know in order to be "helpful" and "respectful" employees in their existing operations. I named undergirding structures and behaviors as paternalistic in that the committees made decisions for others without including them in the process. The curriculum decisions were made to presumably benefit students in the Food Studies major; however, the university did not include key stakeholders in the design, omitting students, farm workers, non-White people, and non-ownership class people.

Major Findings. I organized three analysis chapters to address three research questions, with these major findings:

RQ1 How do socio-cultural practices of inclusion and exclusion, among those developing the Food Studies program, function to support traditional power structures?

Some regional food producers share a goal of developing a curriculum that would help new farm employees and consumers understand how buying food from a local farmer directly keeps more wealth in the local economy. Even if it costs more, the educated consumer would value the benefits of the direct market system and would purchase food accordingly. Consumers become "co-producers" with farmers because the way they spend their food dollars creates the food system. Faculty on the advisory committee had partial or absent understanding of the producers' goals, but they had goals in supporting innovations which might help the university generate revenue and ensure the continuation of their respective departments. Administration had a goal of quickly developing the program which

prioritized speed over quality or democratic process, and students were explicitly excluded. These tensions among different perspectives led to courses for the new major (eight new FOOD prefix courses), but there is no one employed by SSU qualified to teach these courses. The traditional faculty role of developing curriculum was outsourced when the vice president hired a consultant to develop those courses. By excluding faculty from developing the curriculum, the university was able to craft a compelling story, a *brand*, about the curriculum, with little substance from faculty or farmers. Exclusion of faculty and farmers from meaningfully participating along with exclusion of students, functioned to support the traditional power structures of administration centering its need for efficiency and for developing a new product to generate revenue. Additional traditional power structures reinforced by the process included the power structures of Whiteness and ownership of farmland, as well as the notion that farmers are White men.

RQ2 How does the exclusion of faculty from the Food Studies curriculum development process reveal paternalistic, neoliberal efficiency mindsets?

An economic need argument initially drove the curriculum. Direct market food producers wanted to develop a local market that values locally produced food over food that may be grown locally but is sold to a global commodity buyer, then a grocery chain, then back to the consumer. The university president wanted the appearance of including faculty in the curriculum development. Select department chairs created the broad parameters of the curriculum to include a few existing courses, but a consultant was hired to develop the new content. The agriculture business professor facilitated a presentation on the new curriculum

at the faculty senate meeting but gave the majority of time to four farmers to tell their heartfelt stories. I argue that this was a distraction tactic, an emotional appeal that drew attention away from the fact that this process sidestepped the faculty-driven curriculum development process. The president created the appearance of inclusion while resisting the complexity that diversity of perspectives would require. Diversity of perspectives inclusion is at odds with efficiency mindset, and the rushed nature of this project privileged efficiency over including important perspectives. Paternalistic, neoliberal efficiency mindsets describe both the making-decisions-for-others behavior as well as the focus on skipping the time-consuming process of including more perspectives through a more democratic process, the existing curriculum process which was sidestepped.

RQ3 How did the Food Studies curriculum development process commodify the needs, desires, and goals of key stakeholders, especially those who have been historically minoritized (non-White, non-wealthy, non-male), in order to sustain dominant power structures?

Four categories of stakeholders expressed different passions related to the Food Studies major: faculty on the advisory committee, students/potential local food employees, farm and food business owners, and SSU administration. *Passion* was used to describe all of these stakeholders, but passion also was commodified to leverage participation. By commodified, I mean that the unique feelings of enthusiasm for the academic subjects as well as the carework of teaching that the interviewees expressed were manipulated to gain compliance with this curriculum development process initiated under duress (financial threat

of program and faculty line elimination) and within a shortened timeframe. When one is passionate about something, one is vulnerable to disappointment and even suffering for it. Passion may have also been used to *exclude* potential participants, those who might be most vociferous in their opinions on the curriculum content. Faculty were also treated as fungible elements, easily switched out of or added to the committee, without significant effect toward the end curriculum product. Faculty also did not understand deeply the roles of courses outside their discipline and how they fit into the overall structure of the curriculum; some only knew the one or two courses from their departments which would be impacted.

This process appeared to have amplified the structural inequities of inherited privilege in that the curriculum specifically designed for the new courses was developed from interviews with food business owners with the goals of onboarding new employees with the philosophical framework of direct market agriculture that would enrich the food businesses. Students not inheriting land or family businesses were expected to be passionate for the success of these businesses without any shared ownership or future inheritance of the success.

While it is not possible to include all stakeholders in decision-making, it appeared that the needs of certain people were easier to sacrifice. It was easier to find food business owners who have the time flexibility to attend meetings for planning than it was to work with busy farmers, so those business owners' perspectives became amplified while the perspectives of those most busy on the farms were silent and absent. Students were seen as tuition-payers rather than as co-producers with an interest in the design of the degree, and

again the efficiency of working with homogenous voices was easier than the messiness of broader inclusion. Additionally, inclusion of non-English speakers would have required the cost of translation and time for waiting for each sentence to be repeated, factors which worked against the efficiency mindset.

Passion shifted to indifference as participants realized how the Food Studies major might not meet their goals. While interviewees expressed interest and hopefulness about the Food Studies major, there was also an ambivalence about whether the program might cause more harm than good, potentially not fulfilling the goal of increasing enrollment overall or leading to some departments losing enrollment as students are "poached" from existing departments. Faculty also expressed concern about adjunctification of the new department faculty contrasting with the tenured faculty lines of existing departments which might be negatively impacted. Dominant power structures of Whiteness, ownership, and English-language use were sustained by this curriculum development process.

Additional findings. Several additional findings emerged out of the analysis. There were disconnects in ideology and goals between the groups of stakeholders about the underlying economic system of commodity versus direct market agriculture. However, differences in this context were glossed over as committee members shared Whiteness and management-class values which caused their blindness to how the program they were developing would not meet the needs of all stakeholders. They may not have considered the non-White, non-English-speaking, or labor class stakeholders *to be* stakeholders.

Part of the extractive economic mindset is to leverage advantage to make profit. Parents want to leverage advantage for their children over other peoples' children as well. One parent farm owner on the Food Studies committee said that he did not want his own children to attend SSU and to instead attend the state agriculture university, prompting me to consider that there are two types of agricultural education: one for people inheriting an existing farm operation and one for those who will not. The Food Studies program was designed for those who will not inherit a farm operation. Food Studies is situated in a critical paradigm, critical of conventional commodity agriculture and its alienation, and critical of globalization and the externalization of labor and environmental costs. Food Studies as a discipline is a response to conventional agriculture education and the associated assumption that those students will inherit a farm operation. If a student is planning on inheriting a farming operation with all of its big equipment and land, a traditional agriculture education makes sense. Students who want to resist the big agriculture paradigm or who will not inherit these assets might seek out a Food Studies education instead.

When I revisited the original email from the SSU president, I noticed a paragraph break between a sentence about the partnership with the state agricultural college and the new paragraph addressing the Food Studies program, which escaped my notice before. The binary of these two agriculture education paradigms (conventional agriculture education via the state agriculture college versus Food Studies education) was present before I even consciously conceived of studying the topic. The implication is that the president was

conceiving of these two types of agricultural education in creating a new program for students who would not be attracted to the conventional agricultural education experience.

SSU's partnership with the state agricultural college, to offer SSU faculty as tutors to SSU students enrolled in online courses from the state agricultural college has two structural effects: (a) It sidesteps the intent of state law in the name of serving local students while extracting a value through tutoring fees, and (b) it commodifies faculty into fungible tutor units, potentially undercutting their value as full-time faculty, a slippery slope towards adjunctification and automation as people are commodified and replaced.

There is a crisis of trust: People do not trust where their food comes from, and cultivating relationships with farmers could rebuild trust. Food Studies is a response based on lack of trust in conventional agriculture's narrative, that the only way to feed the world is through the use of toxic chemicals and exploitative labor practices. Food Studies challenges the narrative that people are merely consumers and not co-producers of our food system in the choices they make and the ways eaters communicate back to farmers what they desire. The curriculum could advocate for being *in relationship* rather than being alienated and commodified by the food system. This need for humans to be in relationship to each other is important for employer/employee dynamics within a university as well. When faculty are treated as fungible interchangeable units, trust breaks down. When students are treated as fungible interchangeable units, whole elements of the community may distrust that the university is serving a meaningful purpose.

Existing socio-cultural power structures and prioritizing efficiency hold the status quo in place. Big curricular changes like introducing a new major are difficult, but smaller changes like introducing a single course are easy. The big curricular changes seem to require some outside energy to overcome the inertia, such as grant dollars, threat of losing accreditation, or a big single donor with an agenda. Some resources may be unrecognizable to the university administration if they do not fit existing structures, representing missed opportunities for the institution to diversify and better meet the needs of the community. For example, the rich Hispanic farming heritage, the Hispanic producers who sell their food at the CASA events, and the Hispanic faculty who have agricultural backgrounds were not recognized as potential resources. If the people crafting the Food Studies program only recognized White men as farmers, then non-White people and women are not recognized as having expertise and something to contribute.

I add a further connection to efficiency mindset. I used to teach project management software classes, and there is a maxim among project managers that there is a balance among the three constraints of cost, time, and quality; privileging two of them results in a deficit for the third (Atkinson, 1999). If the client wants a project done fast and of high quality, it will be expensive. High quality on a budget means it will take more time. Fast and cheap leads to low quality. The curriculum development process which took place prized speed and low cost, and I argue quality suffered as a result. The neoliberal efficiency mindset side-stepped democratic processes, which could have improved the quality of the project.

Neoliberal ideologies within this process produced two kinds of gentrification. The first is a gentrification of economic development, which was the spark for the initial conversation about the program. Conversations centered on developing economic opportunities to attract wealthy tourists to spend money in the region rather than investing in infrastructure to support people who already live in the region to have living wage work opportunities. The second gentrification was that of the subjectivity of farmworker. A Food Studies graduate is a college-educated farm worker, a person whose embodiment may bring attention to the safety and economic needs of all farmworkers. This type of gentrification which elevates awareness may produce improvements and broader social support for alternatives to exploitative food system models.

Revisiting the Conceptual Framework

My study employed both feminist theory and methodology to shape analyses aimed to critique the ways higher education curriculum development reproduce privilege and inequalities. I focused on three elements of feminist theory (challenging authority, analyzing power structures and their reproduction and naming paternalism) in order to develop a critique of neoliberalism in higher education curriculum development. I chose several elements of neoliberalism to name phenomena present in this curriculum development process, including deregulation of environmental and labor protections which benefit corporations, externalization of costs, efficiency mindsets, designing for standardization, privatization of what used to be public services, framing people as consumers, and commodification.

The analysis developed further the neoliberal concepts of exclusion, efficiency mindset and commodification as presented in the process. Thinking with these concepts allowed me to see how they worked to support traditional power structures. Another important concept which emerged was that of inherited privilege. I could not but see how inheritance of a farm, for example, was a key organizing principle for proposing a major which would be available to the much larger number of students who would not have that experience yet who wanted to participate in building the food system. Whiteness is also an inherited structure which shaped decision-making throughout the process, from deciding whom to include on the committee to deciding what kinds of students would be interested in enrolling. Paternalism as a concept haunted the decision-making as well, in that in almost every circumstance people took the efficient route of deciding for others rather than with them, by excluding passionate faculty who might make deliberations too lengthy, and by including business-owners' perspectives without including their workers' perspectives. For the analysis chapters I used concepts like *branding* and *passion* to think around, to play with new meanings and new usages until I discovered new things to say about how they were working within the process. These concepts worked well for this study and opened up new concepts for consideration including gentrification of opportunity and gentrification of the subjectivity of farm laborer.

Implications

Methodological implications. My interests in access, inclusion and exclusion grew out of my work in higher education, specifically working with underprepared students who

are often also from minoritized populations. In reviewing the scholarly literature on underprepared students, there appeared to be much more focus on methodologies in positivist and constructivist paradigms rather than feminist or other critical paradigms (c.f. Bailey, T., Jaggars, S. S., & Jenkins, D. 2015; Boylan, Calderwood, & Bonham, 2017; Complete College America, 2012). What is known via these perspectives is that there are correlational differential success rates for students based on traits such as ethnicity and socio-economic status, for example, and that some interventions are more successful than others to support student success. What they miss, however, is how institutional power structures, such as Whiteness, protect the status quo by perpetuating these inequalities. A critical methodology, such as this feminist methodology, examines how institutional practices *create* the conditions which put students at-risk for failure. Instead of focusing on strategies for students to navigate the barriers in an educational system (positivist), a critical methodology describes how the barriers function, prompting further questions about why.

Implications for Curriculum Development Processes. Educational frameworks which set *difference as a deficit* create stigma and motives to rename the work to escape the stigma created by the deficit framing. In some cases institutions try to eliminate supports for difference if there is a belief that removing these courses will lead to cost savings and improved institutional reputation (Bailey, T., Jaggars, S. S., & Jenkins, D. 2015; Boylan, Calderwood, & Bonham, 2017). The argument becomes "we don't have those sorts of students here, so we don't need to have those sorts of classes." Paradoxically this leads to a chicken-or-the-egg argument: i.e. "if we don't enroll difficult-to-serve students, then we

don't need these classes." Both of these discursive positions are in service to the neoliberal ideology of efficiency mindset and also function to *eliminate* access pathways for minoritized groups. My project shows how the composition of planning committees impacts access for those the program is designed for, and institutions might consider whether they are planning a program *for* others rather than *with* them.

The interdisciplinary study of food concerns itself with leadership in the development of educational programming (Etmanski, 2017), and my study brings new perspectives into the process of including diverse stakeholders into the planning process. One new perspective challenges an assumption that curriculum development is value-neutral: Whiteness (white supremacy) and other power structures of exclusion work in ways which disguise themselves so those in privileged positions are blind to them. I myself have taken a quiz which indicated hidden biases I consciously avoid (https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/takeatest.html). There are people who disavow that racialized or gendered power structures function in meaningful ways in their lives. Some people in positional power within institutions may see this sort of critique of the curriculum process as unnecessary. People who believe strongly in the post-racial ideology and in meritocracy may claim this work to be a waste of time and money or even counter-productive to producing the best outcomes (Denson & Park, 2009). My work challenges the assumption that it is possible for our work in universities to continue without reconciling disparate ideologies. To create a curriculum which only represents part of the needs of the community is irresponsible. A state asset, Southwest State University, should not be used to reproduce inequity. Truth and Reconciliation processes cause entities

to acknowledge and name the damage done in relationships, a process which requires perpetrators of institutional violence to admit what damage was done and work to correct it (Mette Center, 2010).

Another perspective reinforced by my analysis is that there are people who think within marketing and branding frameworks in higher education rather than philosophically considering long-term effects, multiple perspectives and how policies will impact different stakeholders (Fitzgerald, 2019). I would like to see more senior leadership at universities who can think more philosophically about their curricular planning in order to resist these neoliberal forces at play.

A final perspective on the importance of inclusion of diverse perspectives from the study is related to diversity initiatives and system change. My study contributes to increased understanding of diversity initiatives and system change within academia (Ahmed, 2012), especially anti-racist and anti-sexist work. There is already research related to designing for inclusion (Tauke, Smith, & Davis, 2015), designing for accessibility (Olinsky, 2016), and systems approach to complex problems, including recognizing indigeneity and subjugated alternative world views as valid frames for understanding (Gilbert, n.d.; Harris & Wasilewski, 2004). Edgeworth & Santoro (2015) address constructs of belonging and non-belonging based on students' difference, and Edgeworth (2015) specifically addresses issues of belonging for refugee students. These studies all reveal strategies for better including diverse perspectives in planning, centering the perspectives of historically minoritized

people, and my study establishes the rationale for why these strategies are better than paternalistic decision-making for others without including them in the process.

Limitations

In a qualitative study, describing its limitations leads readers to evaluate the research's trustworthiness, establishing that it was produced under circumstances which may have been limited by factors, giving the reader context (Glesne, 2006). I planned to interview President Smith for this project. She initially agreed to meet with me, but after I sent her the interview questions, she declined. I was instead able to interview the assistant vice president of academic affairs, Maureen, who was possibly more in-the-know of the details of the curriculum development process. There had been quite a bit of turnover of faculty at the institution, and in the months just prior to my field work there had also been some turbulence in upper administration as well. The vice president of academic affairs who had been at the institution for less than a year abruptly "resigned"—I use quotation marks around resigned because he had emailed a letter to the entire faculty indicating his desire to work with the president after a public conflict between the two, a letter I received to my still active email account at the university. Within twenty four hours, the president sent an email to the campus community accepting his resignation and thanking him for his service. I relate these details because there appeared to be justified fear of presidential retaliation in the interviews. There was also discussion about a vote of no confidence in the president. I also considered that the Food Studies program was initiated by the resigned administrator and instead Maureen had to add it to her tasks. I do not know that Maureen would have wanted

to have the Food Studies project on her plate, and having a project thrust upon a person relates back to my concerns about consent and the ability to withdraw consent, some of my earliest musings on how to describe the curriculum process and the state of the field as I entered. I consider how the destabilizing neoliberal factors impact the highest positions within the institution. That the program was initiated by one set of administrators and then followed through by a different set of people may have been a limitation in my ability to collect a coherent picture of the process from start to finish; however, the turbulence was also part of the process.

I had also wanted to interview a much more diverse group of stakeholders, including farm workers and possibly undocumented people whose interests I believed should have been considered and represented in the process. Their exclusion from the entire process became part of the analysis by exposing whose perspectives were seen to count by the decision-makers who set the agenda and whose perspectives were not seen as essential.

Recommendations for Future Study

This dissertation focused on analyzing a curriculum development process for the purpose of understanding how inclusion and exclusion of stakeholders in the process led to the type of curriculum developed and how it might not fit the needs, desires and goals of all stakeholders. The strength of this analysis was that I created new ways to think about how power was functioning within the process, exposing how power structures like Whiteness and ownership impacted who was included in the decision-making. I intentionally omitted

content details of the Food Studies courses because my focus was more on process than product, and because I felt that the curriculum had been shared with me in confidence, as a draft of a proprietary document owned by a university which had not yet completed its approval process preparing it for public view.

Future study of curriculum development specifically of Food Studies may benefit from examining decolonization as a remedy for both the academy and of food systems because paternalism and neoliberal exploitation are organizing structures in both. *Food sovereignty as decolonization: Some contributions from Indigenous movements to food system and development politics* (Grey & Patel, 2015) may be a helpful text for taking this research further because food sovereignty as a movement centers the interests of the food consumers in a community, rather than describing the phenomenon from a corporate-centric colonizer perspective. Grey and Patel argue that food sovereignty is an extension of anti-colonial struggles. Additionally, First Nations Development Institute (2018) does research in support of Native American Food Sovereignty and Food-Systems efforts and could inform future research with its models displaying how communities are regaining control of their local food systems and growing economic development.

These critiques may be applied to higher education in general, in that there seems to be a growing disconnect of relevance and serving students' needs versus serving the needs of the institution and those who rely on it economically. Future research could examine disconnects among different stakeholders in university communities, such as older alumni caring about big sports programs which are fee subsidized by younger students who are not

as interested in traditional sports. Additionally, the tensions between general education requirements of a liberal arts degree and students' interests may play towards the status quo privileging the needs of the university employees over students. Future research could examine and trouble the concept of how *general* the general education requirement are, when they are in fact very *specific* to the staffing capacities at the institution.

Recommendations for Practice

While my research elucidates areas for improvement in higher education curriculum development practices, the need for critically-oriented food system education is urgent and need not wait until predominantly White higher education institutions figure out how to serve diverse populations. I wonder about the appropriateness of a university curriculum for this Food Studies program, given that this particular institution rooted its curriculum as job training satisfying an economic need. If the intended students are to become farm workers and other local food employees, university structures seem like a mismatch. Structures such as the student loans system to borrow money today for the luxury of focusing full-time on studies do not fit with the need for being able to support oneself during one's education with part- or full-time work. Learners could be learning the material on the job, customized to the work environment; however, employers are reluctant to pay for their employees to be trained, preferring for students to take on the costs and the risks instead. Additionally, the traditional academic calendar of September to May classes is at odds with the growing season in the northern hemisphere; to study food cultivation around a traditional academic calendar is

problematic. Finally, the language of instruction as exclusively English is problematic for non-English-speaking farmworkers to have access to this sort of education.

There are other educational structures already in place, namely the educational programming produced by the Local Foods Coalition. The curriculum consultant now works part-time for the Local Foods Coalition, so perhaps the curriculum becomes consumer education delivered through their educators. The Local Foods Coalition could develop partner education and/or an employee training program for local food direct market employees to onboard new hires. Perhaps it becomes a "certified local food advocate" certificate program. Grounding an education program in participants adopting a new identity can be very effective. The Local Foods Coalition director shared with me that she attended a seed saving conference a few years ago, where she received a button pin which read "I'm a seed saver." She had not considered her behavior of saving seeds from her garden from year to year as a moment of activism until she pinned the button on her shirt. Leveraging participants' identity shift towards local food activism could be a goal of the local food education programming.

The Local Foods Coalition could offer modules of Food Studies courses online and in person. Course fees could be paid by employers, by students or with credits earned by volunteering for the organization. Scholarships could also fund some students' learning. The local food certificate described above could be a stepping stone, an onramp to more responsibilities or more learning, like enrolling in the farmer incubator program, and/or a

degree with the community college. SSU offers an interdisciplinary bachelors program that may accept these as transfer courses. The Local Foods Coalition courses are already offered in both English and Spanish.

This Food Studies program may be more about educating consumers rather than creating graduates. This also means that the curriculum could be used for producer education. Producers recognized as "local certified" could use this credential at the Farmers Market or in other marketing opportunities to connect with consumers interested in supporting local farmers. Benefits of becoming a local certified producer may include food hub representation, participation in cooperative marketing, access to the network of food hubs, additional education opportunities and access to local mini-grants.

These farmers want local consumers to be *in relationship* with them, to be neighbors caring about neighbors, to pay a little extra to keep local businesses operational, and to be informed thoughtful consumers. Another goal of the producers on the committee is to (re)educate consumers to consider factors beyond price, i.e. the ecological and social costs that conventional agriculture externalizes (environmental degradation, labor exploitation, plants with fewer nutrients than a few decades ago). They want informed consumers and for other producers to also participate in sustainable agriculture. A study by the Union of Concerned Scientists (Under increasing economic pressure, U.S. farmers seek change in next farm bill, new poll shows, 2018) identified that nearly three-quarters of all farmers, across the political spectrum, support a farm bill that would support sustainable agriculture and soil

conservation. The desire is there; these farmers are looking for someone to build the educational infrastructure to facilitate these changes, and that training could come from the university or from some other source, like the Local Foods Coalition.

In closing, I invite readers to consider the interconnectedness of all of us, human and non-human. We are literally all related to each other, but structures like Whiteness and inheritance pit us against each other in competitive and extractive arrangements. Kim TallBear (2016) writes of the different ways that her Dakota ancestors viewed kinship compared to the White settlers in the northern plains in the 1860s, the fundamental disconnect between two ideologies about relatedness. TallBear writes of her ancestor, a Dakota leader, working to build relationships with the White settlers. In the Dakota way of being, trading was a way to extend kinship, to become family with far-flung peoples in order to preserve order. However, his good faith efforts to trade with the White settlers did not gain kinship alliances with them; the Dakota were being exterminated literally by the White settlers, as well as being exterminated through access practices like White settlers not being confronted for squatting on Dakota treaty land. Her story is about people trying to be *in relationship* with an entity which does not recognize them as human. She writes of these exchanges:

> Government agents and missionaries saw these exchanges of goods for money or pelts as a form of evangelism, the evangelism of the 19th century civilizing project, which is very much still with us today. This included a forced conversion to private

> property, a market economy, monogamous marriage, nuclear family—all tied up with a rapacious individualism and farming. The whites did not know how to do kinship. This took the Dakota a long time to understand. The Dakota had already been living with French fur traders for decades whom they had been able to inter-marry with, trade with, incorporate into their societies, although this was not always a bed of roses. Kinship never is. But these new settlers, English and German speaking, only knew how to evangelize, appropriate, and suppress. They had no interest in engaging in kinship relations. They had no interest in learning from Dakota people. They would make treaties in order to get what they wanted, and then renege on their obligations. The Indian must either adapt to their partitioning of the world—the partitioning of lands, communities, forms of love and kinship, resources, and knowledges—into categories that would either discipline the Indian into being a Christian citizen, or would result in their death. The settler state has been very poor kin indeed. (para. 10)

I believe we are in a moment of failed kinship with our institutions. Neoliberal forces within some institutions have pushed too far, demanded too much commodification of human lives, denying the humanity and dignity of students and faculty alike. When I first returned from the field, the first concept I teased apart in thinking with feminist theory was that there were so many people on the brink of *withdrawing their consent* by leaving SSU. I mused that it was not about restoring wholeness or reconciliation, but was about getting away from the pain, from the anxiety of living in fear from retaliation, from losing one's job, from damaging the institution's or department's reputation by not going along with the general

flow of things, “not upsetting the apple cart” as one interviewee put it. Indeed, leaving a toxic situation is sometimes the best thing for an individual to remove a source of pain, but *it does not change the system which causes the pain*, leaving it to reproduce itself to new faculty and new students.

The more difficult and more courageous task is to stay *in relationship* with the perpetrator, naming the pain, calling out paternalism as it happens, and loving the institution and those still entangled with it enough to work to fix the source of the pain, calling for a reconciliation and corrective action to restore dignity to all parties. TallBear (2016) was writing about the Dakota worldview of connectedness of all things not being accommodated into the Settler system, but instead that the Settler system needs to let go of its illusion that there is disconnection. Predominantly White Institutions also need to move beyond this illusion of disconnection. Whiteness is a construct of disconnection, a belief that there are some people who are White who have privileges that non-Whites do not. Acknowledging that structures like Whiteness continue to animate our curriculum processes is a first step to this reconciliation and return to interconnectedness.

Appendix A: Agricultural Terms

Agroecology: Agroecology is the study of ecological processes applied to agricultural production systems. Agroecologists research and analyze agricultural systems within a broader environmental and socio-economic context.

Commodity: A commodity is an economic good or service that has full or substantial fungibility: that is, the market treats instances of the good as equivalent or nearly so with no regard to who produced them. (Kennon, n.d.) The price of a commodity good is typically determined as a function of its market as a whole: well-established physical commodities have actively traded spot and derivative markets. The wide availability of commodities typically leads to smaller profit margins and diminishes the importance of factors (such as brand name) other than price. ("Commodity | definition of commodity in Merriam-Webster's dictionary," n.d.)

Conventional Agriculture: Since the 1950s, the agricultural paradigm marked by usage of synthetic fertilizers and pesticides, which are often petroleum-derived, increased efficiency through mechanization, hybridization of high-yield crops like wheat, and intensely growing a single crop, know as monoculture farming. The so-called Green Revolution was celebrated as saving a billion people from starvation, but it is also responsible for mass conversion of small subsistence farming traditions into mega-farms cultivating cash crops, destabilizing whole regions which had sustainably fed themselves.

Direct Market Agriculture: The Local Food Economy model which avoids the globalized commodity system. Consumers purchase food directly from the producer at a

farmers market or through a CSA (Community Supported Agriculture) share. Regional Food Hubs can facilitate these transactions for larger institutional buyers, such a schools, hospitals and restaurants which require larger volumes than individual farmers may be able to meet.

Extractive agriculture (see also regenerative): Extracting natural resources for sale, without concern for environmental or social degradation. Downstream pollution costs or increased cancer risk for farmworkers, for example, do not factor into the business model of extractive agriculture operations.

Extractive economics (see also regenerative): Business models based on extracting value, for example, financial products which generate profit from fees on transactions do not necessarily create any new value. The 2008 housing crisis was in part due to mortgages being sold to high risk borrowers while the financial institutions insured themselves against the anticipated losses.

Globalized Commodity Agriculture (see Direct Market for contrast): the food system which involves commodity buyers who purchase goods from farmers to be sold on the global market.

Glocal: troubling the binary between global and local, a glocal paradigm encourages consumers to "think globally, act locally" emphasizing that local choices have global impact.

Principle Based Holistic Agricultural Design: the creative approach to designing agricultural systems inclusive beyond farming practices to include all influencing and affected factors. (c.f. http://grazingvineyards.blogspot.com/)

Regenerative Agriculture (see also extractive): As opposed to extractive models, regenerative agriculture designs for improving the quality of the soil as a feature of the cultivation. A focus on soil health means that farmers are creating the optimal conditions for diverse microorganisms to thrive, rather than killing all life other than the target food species. I understand this to be the main criticism of genetically modified crops which have a pesticide and herbicide built right into the genes of the corn, for instance, which kills everything but the corn. Regenerative agriculture attempts to work with nature, rather than against it. In conventional agriculture, the goal is to control nature to extract the target food crop. Regenerative agriculture cultivates several complementary species alongside the target food crop, often producing multiple target food crops in the process.

Regenerative economics (see also extractive): Similar to regenerative agriculture, regenerative economics seeks to strengthen the local economic system rather than extracting value at the expense of other members of the system. The Slow Food movement (www.slowfood.com, www.slowfoodusa.org) and the Slow Money movement (www.slowmoney.org) reflect this systems focus.

Relocalization: "Relocalization is a strategy which aims to rebuild societies based on the local provisioning of food and energy, and the relocalization of currency, governance and culture. The main goals of relocalization are to increase community energy security, strengthen local economies, and dramatically improve environmental conditions and social equity." ("relocalization | Definition of relocalization in Appropedia: The sustainability wiki," n.d.; De Young & Princen, 2012)

Value-Added Agriculture: The term value-added in agriculture refers to agricultural products which have been processed locally to enhance their value, such as jam made from berries, or produce that has been washed and packaged; it can also describe organically raised products or regionally identified products. (Agricultural Marketing Resource Center, 2019.)

Appendix B: Select List of Food Studies Programs 2018

Consortia	Description	Website
Agriculture, Food, & Human Values Society	The Agriculture, Food, & Human Values Society (AFHVS) is a prominent professional organization which provides an international forum to engage in the cross-disciplinary study of food, agriculture, and health, as well as an opportunity for examining the values that underlie various visions of food and agricultural systems.	https://afhvs.wildapricot.org/
Association for the Study of Food and Society	The ASFS was founded in 1985, with the goals of promoting the interdisciplinary study of food and society. It has continued that mission by holding annual meetings; the first was in 1987 and since 1992, the meetings have been held jointly with the organization: Agriculture, Food & Human Values.	http://www.food-culture.org/
Appalachian Foodshed Project (Blacksburg, VA)	The Appalachian Foodshed Project (AFP) is using a foodshed concept to address issues of community food security in West Virginia and the Appalachian regions of North Carolina and	http://appalachianfoodshedproject.org/

	Virginia. AFP aims to facilitate a network of organizations and individuals working to address issues of community development, economic viability, health, nutrition, food access, social justice, and agriculture. By working collaboratively, AFP hopes to build on the human and natural resources in the region to cultivate resilient food systems and vibrant, healthy communities.	
Driftless Folk School	Driftless Folk School is a regional center for the preservation, promotion and training of traditional crafts, the art of homesteading, natural building, energy self-sufficiency, sustainable farming, animal husbandry, and wilderness skills. Crafting connections~Creating Community	http://driftlessfolkschool.org/local-scholarship/
Food Studies Knowledge Community	Founded in 2011, the Food Studies Knowledge Community is brought together around a common interest to explore new possibilities for sustainable food production and human nutrition, and associated impacts of food systems on culture.	http://food-studies.com/

Food Tank: The Think Tank for Food	We're building a global community for safe, healthy, nourished eaters. We aim to educate, inspire, advocate, and create change. We spotlight and support environmentally, socially, and economically sustainable ways of alleviating hunger, obesity, and poverty and create networks of people, organizations, and content to push for food system change.	http://foodtank.com/about
Inter-Institutional Network for Food, Agriculture, and Sustainability (INFAS)	A national network of university and college educators, researchers, and activists, representing 25 institutions and spanning 20 states, who collaborate in analysis, synthesis, and problem-solving with practitioners to increase U.S. food-system resilience; to illuminate critical trends and common stewardship of public goods essential for food systems, such as water, biodiversity, ecosystem services, and public institutions; and to reduce inequity and vulnerability in the U.S. food system.	http://asi.ucdavis.edu/networks/infas
Lyson Center for Civic Agriculture and Food Systems	The Lyson Center supports the collaboration of scholars, professionals, and	http://lysoncenter.org/

	active residents engaging in food systems-based community development. They publish the Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development (JAFSCD), and facilitate the North American Food Systems Network (NAFSN).	
The Next Systems Project	The Next System Project is an ambitious multi-year initiative aimed at thinking boldly about what is required to deal with the systemic challenges the United States faces now and in coming decades.	http://thenextsystem.org/#about
Rodale Institute (PA)	Through organic leadership we improve the health and well-being of people and the planet.	http://rodaleinstitute.org/
Southern Sustainable Agriculture Working Group	Southern SAWG's Mission is to empower and inspire farmers, individuals, and communities in the South to create an agricultural system that is ecologically sound, economically viable, socially just, and humane. Because sustainable solutions depend on the involvement of the entire community, Southern SAWG is committed to including all persons in the South without bias.	http://www.ssawg.org/

Sustainable Agriculture Education	SAGE revitalizes agricultural places near cities where farming and local food culture can thrive and be celebrated. We work in two interconnected program areas: Urban-Edge Agricultural Revitalization and Urban-Rural Connections. SAGE assists clients in developing place-based agriculture and local food projects. Our consulting services include existing conditions analysis, feasibility studies, business plans, stakeholder engagement and facilitation of multi-party collaborations. We specialize in developing urban-edge Agricultural Parks, from concept to on-the-ground realization, and in creating projects that connect urban-edge agricultural areas with food initiatives in nearby cities.	http://www.sagecenter.org/
Sustainable Agriculture Education Association	The Sustainable Agriculture Education Association promotes and supports the development, application, research, and exchange of best teaching and learning practices in sustainable agriculture education and curricula through communication, training, development, and	Website: http://www.sustainableaged.org/

	collaborative activities for teachers and learners. The Association is organized exclusively for education purposes within the meaning of Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.	
Sustainable Agriculture Research & Education	Grants and Education to Advance Innovations in Sustainable Agriculture	http://www.sare.org/
TomKat Ranch Educational Foundation	TomKat Ranch Educational Foundation serves as a learning laboratory for animal agriculture focused on climate stability, nature's benefits, healthy food, biodiversity, and vibrant community.	http://www.tomkatranch.org/
United Nations University Traditional Knowledge Initiative	The Traditional Knowledge Initiative (TKI) promotes and strengthens research on traditional knowledge and its incorporation into UN policy processes through joint research projects with UN agencies, universities, indigenous and regional networks	http://unu.edu/projects/traditional-knowledge-initiative.html#outline
Wallace Center	The Wallace Center develops partnerships, pilots new ideas, and advances solutions to strengthen communities through resilient farming and food systems.	http://www.wallacecenter.org/
Academic Programs	University	Website

	(if applicable)	
M.A. in Food Studies	The American University of Rome (Italy)	http://www.aur.edu/gradschool/graduate-programs/food-studies/introduction/
Master of Science in Nutrition (Dietetics)	Arizona State University (online, USA)School of Nutrition and Health Promotion	http://asuonline.asu.edu/online-degree-programs/graduate/master-science-nutrition-dietetics
Master of Science in Nutrition and Wellness	Benedictine University (online, USA)	http://online.ben.edu/msnw/masters-in-nutrition-wellness
Master of Liberal Arts in Gastronomy, graduate Food Studies Certificate	Boston University, Metropolitan College (USA)	www.bu.edu/gastronomy http://www.bu.edu/met/programs/graduate/food-studies-graduate-certificate/
BSc (Honours), Food Science & Nutrition	Carleton University (Canada)	http://www.carleton.ca/chem/fsn/
M.A. in Food Studies	Chatham University (USA) Falk School of Sustainability	http://www.chatham.edu/mafs
MSc Food Policy: Public, Healthy, Primary Care & Food Policy	City University of London (England)	http://www.city.ac.uk/communityandhealth/phpcfp/foodpolicy/courses/index.html
Ph.D. in Food Studies	City University of New York: The Graduate Center (USA)	http://www.city.ac.uk/communityandhealth/phpcfp/foodpolicy/courses/index.html

B. P. S. in Applied Food Studies	Culinary Institute of America (USA)	http://www.ciachef.edu/bachelors-degree-applied-food-studies/
M.S., M.S./Ph.D. or Ph.D.	Cornell University (USA) Division of Nutritional Sciences	http://www.nutrition.cornell.edu/
M.S. and Ph.D.	Cornell University (USA) Department of Food Science	http://foodscience.cornell.edu/
High School and Undergraduate paid internships	College of Menominee Nation (Wisconsin) Sustainable Development Institute	http://sustainabledevelopmentinstitute.org/
Master of Science in Culinary Arts and Science	Drexel University (USA) Department of Culinary Arts and Food Science	http://drexel.edu/hsm/academics/Culinary-Arts-Food-Science/MS-in-Culinary-Arts-and-Science/
Master of Arts in Gastronomy and Food Studies	Dublin Institute of Technology (Ireland)	http://www.dit.ie/studyatdit/postgraduate/taughtprogrammes/allcourses/dt9400ptgastronomyfoodstudiesma.html
Study abroad programs	Gustolab Institute ACES “Food & Culture-Food Media” University of Illinois Urbana Champaign, “Critical Studies on Food in Italy” UMass Amherst, Food Studies	http://www.gustolab.com/
Masters/Bachelors/Diploma	Le Cordon Bleu International Culinary/Hospitality Management/Gastronomy	http://cordonbleu.edu/

PhD, DrPH, MPH, MSPH, Certificate in Food Systems	Johns Hopkins University (USA) Bloomberg School of Public Health	http://www.jhsph.edu/academics/certificate-programs/certificates-for-hopkins-and-non-degree-students/food-system-envir-publ-health.html
Ph.D.	Indiana University, Bloomington (USA) Anthropology – Anthropology of Food PhD track	http://www.indiana.edu/~anthro/food_anthro.html
Master d'Histoire et des Cultures de l'Alimentation (prof. Jean-Pierre Williot)	Institut European d'Histoire et des Cultures de l'Alimentation, Universite de Tours (France) Histoire et Cultures de l'Alimentation	www.iehca.eu
Bachelor, Master, Doctoral	Michigan State University Center for Regional Food Systems	https://www.canr.msu.edu/foodsystems/index
Coursework and Nine-week summer leadership program	Middlebury College (VT) Global Food Studies Program	http://www.middlebury.edu/sustainability/operations-and-action/global-food-program http://www.middlebury.edu/foodworks
Graduate Minor in Food Studies	New Mexico State University (USA) Anthropology	http://www.nmsu.edu/~anthro/Graduate_Minor_Food_Studies.html
Courses can be taken for an undergraduate degree Food Studies AAS	New School (USA) Food Studies	http://www.newschool.edu/generalstudies/foodstudies.aspx www.newschool.edu/public-engagement/aas-food-studies

B.S., M.A., PhD	New York University–Steinhardt (USA) Department of Nutrition and Food Studies	http://steinhardt.nyu.edu/nutrition/
Bachelors, Masters, Ph.D.	North Carolina State University's Center for Environmental Farming Systems Committee on Racial Equity in the Food System	https://cefs.ncsu.edu/ https://cefs.ncsu.edu/food-system-initiatives/food-system-committee-on-racial-equity/
B.S., M.A., Ph.D.	Oxford Brookes University (England) Oxford School of Hospitality Management	http://www.brookes.ac.uk/studying/courses/postgraduate/2013/food-wine-culture
Graduate certificate in Sustainable Food Systems	Portland State University (Oregon)	https://www.pdx.edu/food-certificate/
Master's degree in Gastronomy	Queen Margaret University in Edinburgh, Scotland	https://www.qmu.ac.uk/study-here/course-a-z/?tab=postgraduate
Post-degree Certificate in Food Security	Ryerson University (Canada) School of Nutrition & Center for Studies in Food Security	http://ce-online.ryerson.ca/ce_2009-2010/program_sites/program_default.asp?id=2102
Programs in Sustainable Agriculture	Seattle Central College (Washington)	http://www.seattlecentral.edu/sustainable-agriculture/
Bachelor	Selcuk University (Turkey) (http://www.selcuk.edu.tr) Faculty of Vocational Education / Family	http://www.mef.selcuk.edu.tr/

	Economy and Nutrition Teaching	
Undergrad Minor	Spelman College (Atlanta, GA) Food Studies Program	https://www.spelman.edu/academics/majors-and-programs/food-studies-program
B.A.	Sterling College (Vermont, USA) Sustainable Agriculture/Sustainable Food Systems	http://www.sterlingcollege.edu/academics/areas-of-study/sustainable-food-systems/
B.S., M.S.	Suhr's University College (Denmark) Nutrition and Health	http://internet.suhrs.dk/sites/english/Pages/Forside.aspx
B.S. and M.S. in Food Studies	Syracuse University (USA) Food Studies Program in Department of Public Health, Food Studies and Nutrition	http://falk.syr.edu/FoodStudies/
Certificate	The Umbra Institute (Italy) Food Studies	http://www.umbra.org/academics/food-studies/
M.S., Ph.D.	Tufts University (USA) Agriculture, Food & Environment	http://nutrition.tufts.edu/1174562918439/Nutrition-Page-nl2w_1177953852962.html
Masters	Universita degli studi Roma Tre (Italy) Human Development and Food Security	http://host.uniroma3.it/master/humandevelopment/index.htm
M.A.	Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (UOC, Open University of Catalonia) (Spain)	http://www.uoc.edu/masters/eng/master/web/food_systems_culture_society/

	Food Systems, Culture and Society	food_systems_culture_society/
M.A. (Food History)	Université François Rabelais, Tours (France) UFR Arts et Sciences Humaines / Département Histoire	http://www.univ-tours.fr or http://www.iehca.eu
One-year university certificate (undergraduate level, which can be combined with a major to become a bachelor's degree	Université du Québec à Montréal (Canada) Certificat en gestion et pratiques socioculturelles de la gastronomie (in French) (Management and Sociocultural Practices of Gastronomy)	http://www.esg.uqam.ca/gastronomie/index.php
M.A.	University of Barcelona (Spain) Biennial master's degree in History and Culture of Diet	http://www.ub.edu/alimentacio/eng/pres_eng.html
B.S., M.F.S, M.Sc., and Ph.D.	University of British Columbia (Canada) Land and Food Systems	http://www.landfood.ubc.ca/graduate/
Ph.D.	University of California, Davis (USA) Program in International & Community Nutrition Agricultural Sustainability Institute	http://picn.ucdavis.edu/ http://asi.ucdavis.edu/
Concentration in Agroecology & Sustainable Food Systems within UCSC's Environmental Studies major	University of California, Santa Cruz (USA) Center for Agroecology & Sustainable Food Systems	https://casfs.ucsc.edu/index.html
B.A., M.A. (equivalent)	University of Gastronomic Sciences (Italy)	www.unisg.it

	Gastronomy & Food Communications (in English or English/Italian)	
M.A.	University of London, School of Oriental & African Studies (England) Anthropology & Sociology	http://www.soas.ac.uk/programmes/prog13983.html
Bachelors	University of New Hampshire (USA) Dual Major in Ecogastronomy	http://www.unh.edu/ecogastronomy/
Sustainable Food and Farming Certificate Program Online	Stockbridge School of Agriculture University of Massachusetts Amherst	https://stockbridge.cns.umass.edu/academics/undergraduate-degrees/sustainable-food-farming
Major/Minor in Food Studies	University of North Carolina Food Studies at UNC – FOOD FOR ALL,	foodforall.web.unc.edu/food-studies-at-unc
B.A. (Concentration), M.A., M.S., M.B.A., Ph.D. or J.D.	University of Oregon Graduate Specialization in Food Studies	http://foodstudies.uoregon.edu/graduate-specialization-in-food-studies/
Undergraduate minor and graduate certificate in Food Studies	University of Southern Maine (USA) Food Studies Program	http://www.uvm.edu/foodsystemsprogram/
M.A.	University of the Pacific Food Studies	http://www.pacific.edu/Academics/Schools-and-Colleges/College-of-the-Pacific/Academics/Departments-and-Programs/Food-Studies.html

B.A., M.A., Ph.D. Extension & Continuing Education	University of Vermont-Montpelier's food systems initiative	https://www.uvm.edu/foodsystems
MS in Agroecology	University of Wisconsin-Madison, Center of Integrated Agricultural Systems	http://cias.wisc.edu/
Minor	Virginia Polytechnic Institute Civic Agriculture and Food Systems program	https://www.cals.vt.edu/academic-programs/prospective/majors/civic-ag-minor.html
M.A. in History	Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB, Free University of Brussels) (Belgium, classes taught in English) Social and Cultural Food Studies	http://research.vub.ac.be/food-history
Food Studies Journal Links		http://www.food-culture.org/food-studies-links/ https://www.foodsystemsjournal.org/index.php/fsj/issue/archive https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rffc20#.VXS4c1xViko

Appendix C: Interview Questions

Developing a Food Studies Program

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study of developing a Food Studies program. I'm sharing these questions with you ahead of time so you may think through your answers and possibly make some notes, even a stream of consciousness, as your written notes may help during our interview time. And feel free to wax poetic--express your creativity in the way you answer the questions. I plan to record our conversation as well so I may transcribe notes later.

Please share any information you think of as relevant about you as a person: information about your cultural background, education, family history, gender or any other characteristics I might not know about you that you think may be helpful for this interview.

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1. What do you find unique about this region, this opportunity to develop a new program?
2. Why/How is SSU uniquely positioned for this program?
3. What need(s) will this program satisfy?
4. How do you see this program interface with the agricultural business program? With the new partnership to offer agriculture courses at SSU campus?
5. How do you see this program interface with regional ag producers? With value-added entities? Restaurants? With businesses and non-profits and foundations?
6. What is the timeline of the project?
7. What is the impetus, the first ideas which brought it to life?
8. Who was involved?
9. How has the committee evolved? Who is included?
10. Who was involved with the visioning?
11. What funding sources (if any) are involved with getting the project started?
12. Who are the "champions" for the program?
13. Who will benefit from the program?
14. What broadly, will the curriculum focus on?
15. Five years from now, what do you think the program will look like? The typical student? The typical graduate? What kind of work will he/she be doing?
16. Why name it a "Food Studies" program?
17. Is there anything else you would like to share that I did not ask?
18. Is there anyone else you think I should talk to about this project?
19. What are your questions for me?

Thank you very much for your time and insight!

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Vita

I grew up in Oconomowoc, Wisconsin. After graduating from Oconomowoc Senior High School, I served in the Wisconsin and Wyoming Army National Guards as a sergeant, musician, and section leader. I also worked temporarily at the State Headquarters for Military Affairs in roles in recruiting and retention, personnel, records, and as administrative support for the band and public affairs offices. I studied English, psychology and music at Lawrence University and worked various work study jobs in the recreation center, writing center and in residence life.

I worked temporary administrative jobs in my first year out of college, and finally landed a full-time job in residence life at a rural junior college, where I also was able to teach a few courses. I decided to get a masters degree in English to teach writing at the community college level, and I enrolled at the University of Northern Colorado where I received an M.A. in English, with emphasis in composition and rhetoric. I struggled to find full-time work, teaching at several colleges to cobble together an income. I volunteered with a non-profit community art center as their public relations director, and I made a little money with my writing consulting business helping graduate students with their theses and dissertations.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, I worked for a software training company, teaching classes in applications like Microsoft Excel and PowerPoint as well as hardware classes (I built my own Linux system) and database design. I also worked as the education manager for a software company which focused on moving paper-format documents into a searchable

digital format, using Optical Character Recognition (OCR). I taught people how to write the code to import these documents and developed all of the other curricula for the company. The dot-com bubble burst in 2001, and I was laid off. I decided to get my teaching license and worked as a middle school language arts teacher for the next three years.

In 2004, I began apprenticing with a commercial beekeeper, and two years later I started my first beehives. That same year I was hired by the university in this dissertation study to teach developmental reading and writing courses. I eventually picked up more responsibilities including administering an AmeriCorps service learning program and supporting faculty with integrating service learning into their courses. In 2008 I attended the Academic Management Institute, a program to encourage women to become university presidents. My capstone project for the institute was to develop a comprehensive developmental education program, a Structured Transitional Academic Year (STAY) for first year students with low test scores in reading, writing and math. With 60% of incoming students fitting this description, the STAY program impacted a majority of the student body, many of whom were from historically underrepresented, minoritized populations.

I also became involved with the state's professional association for developmental education, serving as the webmaster, vice president and eventually as the president, organizing multiple state conferences at our institution and serving on the planning committee for the National Association for Developmental Education's conference when it was held in our region.

At that time I also recognized that my skill set was helpful for community non-profits and agreed to serve on three boards: the Local Foods Coalition described in this dissertation, a regional ecosystem council, and the county Farm Bureau. In my time with the Local Foods Coalition, we purchased 38 acres of land, developed a new farmer incubation program, developed a regional food hub to aggregate foods grown in the region for purchase by local wholesale and retail consumers, and offered cooking, nutrition and food preservation classes.

In 2012, I attended the Kellogg Institute for Developmental Educators, and my practicum project was working with rural Hispanic high school students to tell their stories of how they were preparing for college through digital media. I taught the digital storytelling course along with a colleague from the media studies program. I was able to enroll in Appalachian State University graduate courses during the Kellogg Institute, and those first courses led to me completing the Education Specialist (EdS) degree in 2014. In 2015, I enrolled in doctoral coursework, culminating in this dissertation for the doctorate of education.